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DRESS AND ADORNMENT
IN THE
MOUNTAIN PROVINCE OF
LUZON, PHILIPPINE ISLANDS

BY
MORICE VANOVERBERGH, C.I.C.M.

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CATHOLIC ANTHROPOLOGICAL CONFERENCE

DRESS AND ADORNMENT IN THE MOUNTAIN PROVINCE OF LUZON, PHILIPPINE ISLANDS

By MORICE VANOVERBERGH, C. I. C. M.

The name Igorot is sometimes applied in blanket fashion to the non-Christian tribe or tribes of the Mountain Province. This popular use of the term is rather misleading. Without entering here into discussion about the question of tribal unity of the several groups of men and women who have chosen the Mountain Province of Luzon as their home, we shall follow the generally accepted division of them into six groups:

1. The Ibaloy, Nabaloy or Benguet Igorot.¹
2. The Kankanay or Lepanto Igorot.²
3. The Ifugaw.³
4. The Bontok Igorot.
5. The Kalinga.⁴
6. The Isneg or Apayaw.⁵

¹ In "The Nabaloi Dialect" (Vol. II of Ethnological Survey Publications, II, Manila, 1905), on page 98, Mr. Otto Scheerer quotes Dr. T. H. Pardo de Tavera (Etimología de los Nombres de Razas de Filipinas) as follows:

"Igorrote is composed of the root *golot* (mountain chain, in Tagalog) and the prefix *i* (dweller in, or people of) and means 'mountaineer' (in German, *Bergsassen*)

"*Inibaloy* is the name of a dialect spoken by the Igorrotes, and this word, in Ilokano, signifies simply 'language of strangers.'"

Then Mr Scheerer continues: "For further explanation Padre Carro's excellent Vocabulario Iloco-Español gives us *baliu*, which is doubtless the same as *baloi*, meaning 'the farther side of a river or of the sea,' and *i-baliu*, or *taga-baliu*, 'stranger or person from beyond the seas,' such as the Chinese or European."

Exception may be taken to some of these statements:

1. We have lived for over eighteen years with Iloko (or Ilokano), and have never heard any Iloko word like the *inibaloy* of Dr. Pardo de Tavera, and none with the meaning he assigns to it.

2. Between *baliu* (which should be spelled and accented *báliu*) and (*i*) *balóy*, there is a world of difference; and such a change in pronunciation and accent, with both terms retaining the same meaning, is entirely unusual and certainly never occurs in Iloko.

² From the former Province of Lepanto.

³ *Ifugaw* means "man," in the Kankanay dialect.

⁴ *Kaliñgá* means "enemy," in the Ibanag or Kagayan dialect.

⁵ *Apáyaw* means "pursuing," in the Kankanay dialect.

However, in this paper, we shall, for the sake of clearness, subdivide the fifth group into two: (a) the South Kalinga, and (b) the North Kalinga. The differences in dress between the southern and northern Kalinga are too numerous and too striking to be treated under one head.

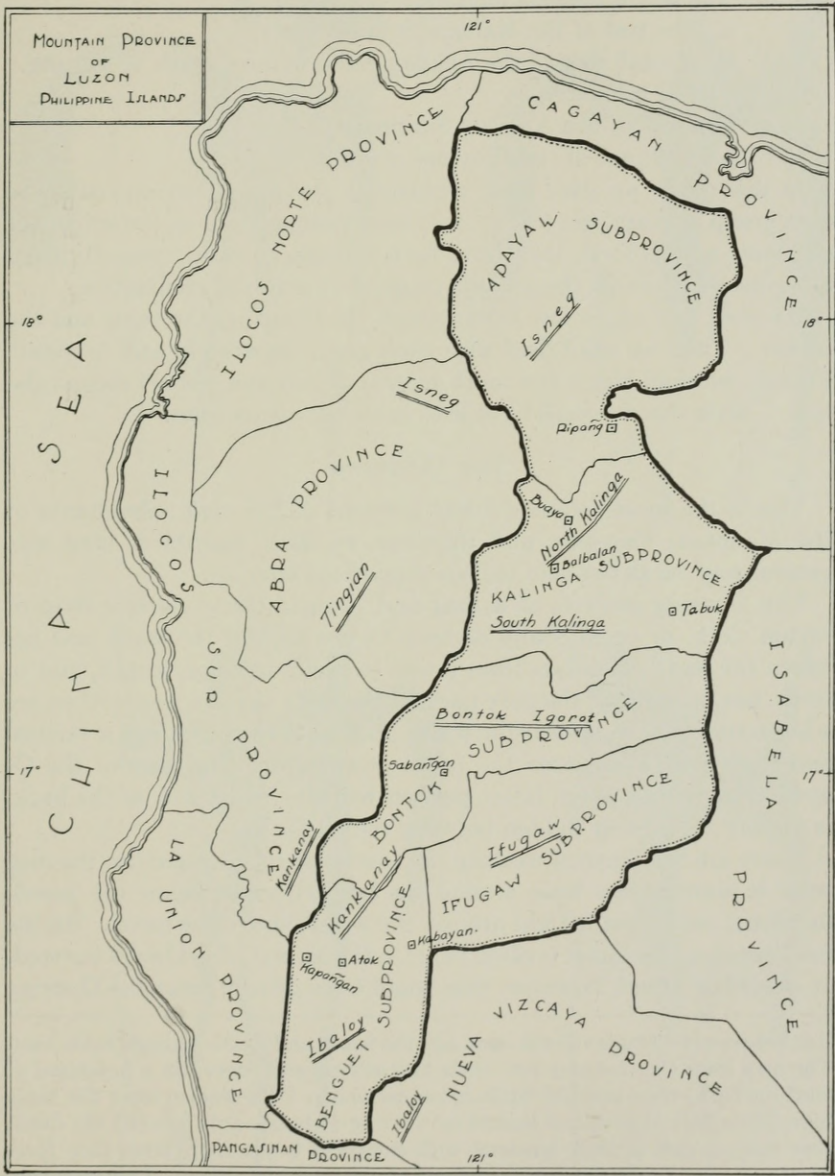
These seven groups are very easily distinguished simply by looking at their clothing, and even casual observers can readily determine to what group or tribe the majority of individuals, especially women, belong. This does not mean, however, that there is no tribal overlapping at all in clothing and adornment customs. An article of dress or an ornament typical of one area may begin to be worn in the border villages of a neighboring area, but such articles of dress or ornaments are usually only accessory ones and sometimes can be noticed only upon close examination.

As may be seen on the adjoining map:

1. The Ibaloy inhabit:
 - a. The Benguet Subprovince, south of a line that runs above Kabayan and Atok, and through Kapañgan;
 - b. A small part of the Province of Nueva Vizcaya.
2. The Kankanay inhabit:
 - a. The rest of the Benguet Subprovince;
 - b. A small part of the Province of Ilocos Sur;
 - c. The Bontok Subprovince, south of a line that runs above Sabañgan.
3. The Ifugaw inhabit the Ifugaw Subprovince.
4. The Bontok Igorot inhabit the Bontok Subprovince, north of a line that runs above Sabañgan.⁶
5. A. The South Kalinga inhabit the Kalinga Subprovince, south of a line that runs above Balbalan and west of a line that runs west of Tabuk.⁷

⁶ A small section of the eastern part of both Bontok and Kalinga Subprovinces is inhabited by people who form a connecting link between the North Kalinga on one hand, and the South Kalinga and Bontok Igorot on the other. The women are clothed like those of the North Kalinga. The men wear a headband of red cloth ornamented with white beads, and a small basket, black or sometimes black and red, with small copper ornaments. On special occasions aromatic leaves are inserted in these baskets. The prevalent tattooing resembles that of the Bontok Igorot. This group extends into a few villages of the western part of the Province of Isabela.

⁷ A small section of the western part of the Kalinga Subprovince formerly belonged to the Province of Abra. It is inhabited by people who form a connecting



MAP: MOUNTAIN PROVINCE OF LUZON, PHILIPPINE ISLANDS

5. B. The North Kalinga inhabit:
 - a. The rest of the Kalinga Subprovince;
 - b. A small part of the Apayaw Subprovince, south of Ripaŋg.
6. The Isneg inhabit:
 - a. The rest of the Apayaw Subprovince;
 - b. A small part of the Province of Abra.

In this paper we shall treat exclusively the native dress peculiar to each group as it appears to-day, without touching at all on the subject of garments and so forth that have been introduced rather recently from other places, through the gradual progress of material civilization.

We shall first say a few words about the G-string, the tapis and the tattoo. Then we shall deal with each group separately and in detail. Finally, we shall give a few more general details and a short recapitulation. After that we shall be able to draw our conclusions.

THE G-STRING

This is the most common lower garment of the male inhabitants of the Mountain Province, and therefore we shall describe it here in a general way, so as to avoid tedious repetitions later on.

The G-string consists of a long and comparatively narrow strip of cotton cloth, or occasionally of bark,⁸ worn around the waist and between the legs. It differs from group to group in color, length, and so forth, but, in general, the only parts of the body that appear clothed are a horizontal zone at or near the waist, all around the body, and a vertical one from somewhere near the navel downward. The part of the G-string that connects the latter portion with the waist line, at the back, is usually completely hidden between the buttocks.

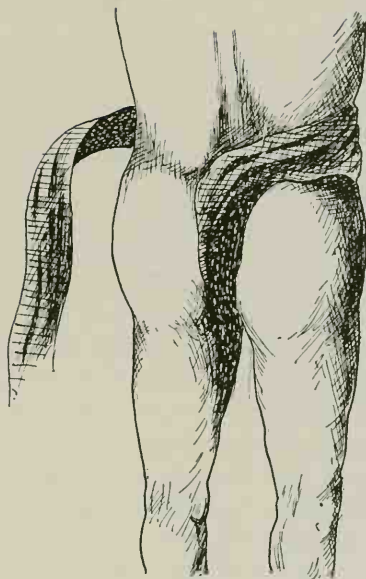
There are two ways of wearing the G-string: in some groups, the men wear it more or less loose around the body, over or below the navel; in others, they wear it tight around the waist, above the navel. In the first instance, the navel is often bare; in the second, it is always covered. It should be noted, however, that small boys usually wear the G-string

link between the Tingian to the west, and the South and North Kalinga to the east. The men wear the G-string low; their hair is long and tucked in a headband of cloth or bark; they practise little or no tattooing. The women wear the tapis high; their hair is long and tucked in a string of beads worn around the head; they cover a part of their forearms with strings of beads, and tattoo their forearms and part of their upper arms immediately above the elbow. This group extends into a few villages of the southeastern part of the Province of Abra.

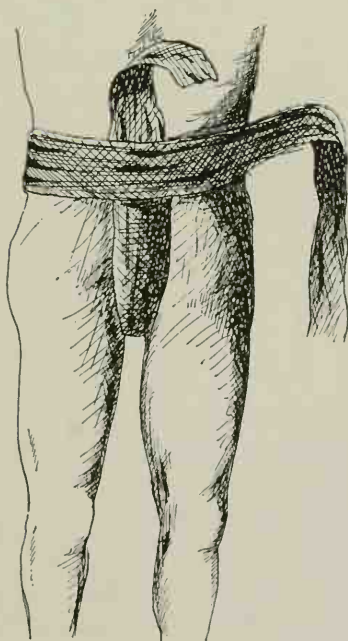
⁸ The bark, is generally taken from one or another species of *Wikstroemia* (Family: Thymelaeaceae).



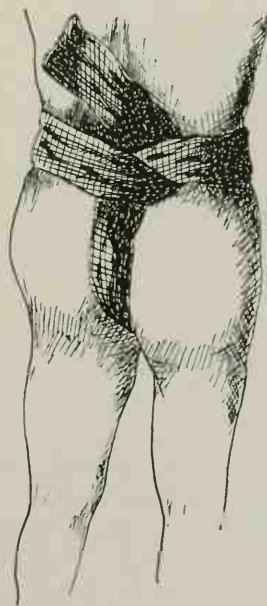
a



b



c



d

FIG. 1 *abcd*. HOW THE G-STRING IS PUT ON

in the first way, no matter what group they belong to, because it is practically impossible for them to keep the G-string in place around their waists on account of their generally protuberant abdomens.

The G-string is ordinarily put on in the following way: the man takes one of the ends in his left hand, and, keeping it in a vertical position, applies it to his abdomen (fig. 1a). Then with his right hand he passes the G-string between his legs, toward the back, and upward to the superior part of the buttocks, where he brings it into a horizontal position and turns it back toward the front by the right side (fig. 1b), passing it over the first end, in front, so as to keep the latter in place (fig. 1c). He then has both hands free, completes the circle toward the left, in front, and back to the point where the G-string first changed from a vertical to a horizontal position, at the back. There he passes the other end, first over and then under, that particular part of the G-string, in an upward direction (fig. 1d), and pulls it tight, so as to keep the whole breech-cloth in place.

Some men, who are left-handed, keep the first end of the G-string in place with their right hand, and then manipulate the rest with their left hand, in an opposite direction, i.e., from left to right, in front; but these are exceptions.

Generally, if its length permits, the G-string is wound one or more times around the body, before it is tightened at the back.

Most all groups allow both ends of the G-string, in front and at the back, to hang loose for a certain length, so as to provide an additional cover.

Whenever, through walking or other exercise, his dress becomes loose, the only thing the Igorot has to do to rearrange it nicely, is to give a pull upward, either at the fore end of the G-string, or at the back end, or at both ends together.

THE TAPIS

What has been said about the G-string of men is equally true of the tapis of women: the women of all groups but one have adopted it as their lower garment.

The tapis consists of a rectangular piece of cotton cloth, rarely bark, worn around the body, from somewhere at or near the waist to somewhere at or near the knees. It differs from group to group in color, length, and so forth, but, in general, the only part of the body that appears clothed is the one described above, except that very often, in marching, one of the thighs is almost completely bared in front.

There are two ways of wearing the tapis: some groups keep its upper part below the navel, others keep it either over or above the navel. In the first instance, the navel is always bare, and, when the woman is pregnant, the whole abdomen protrudes above the tapis; in the second instance, the navel is generally covered, and, in case of pregnancy, the tapis covers the abdomen. It should be noted, however, that small girls usually wear it in the first way, no matter what tribe they belong to, because it is practically impossible for them to keep the tapis in place around their waists, on account of their generally protuberant abdomens.

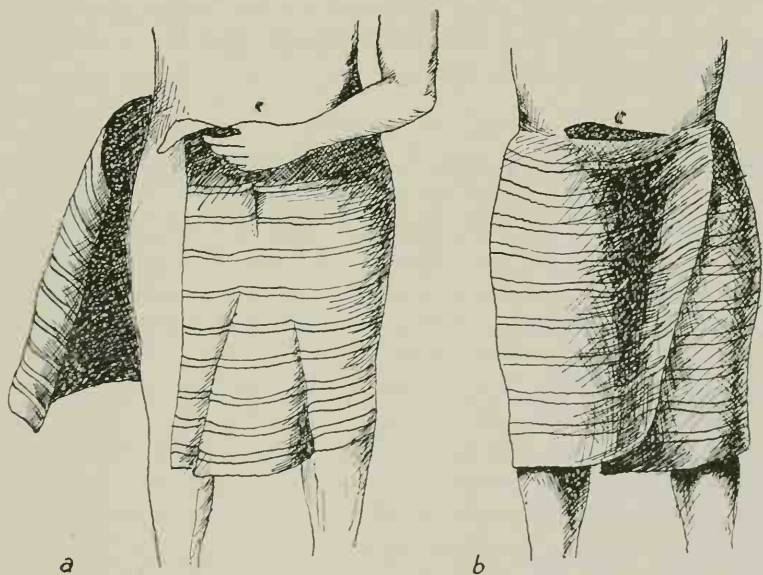


FIG. 2 *ab*. HOW THE TAPIS IS PUT ON

The tapis is ordinarily put on in the following way: the woman takes hold of both upper corners of the tapis, one in each hand, keeping the cloth spread open at the back, about waist-high. She then turns the left-hand corner toward the front and presses it to her body, about the upper part of the right thigh (fig. 2a). About the same time, she turns the right-hand corner toward the front, covers the first part of the tapis, except the left-hand tip (which projects upward and is then pressed between her body and the second part of the tapis), and tucks the tip of the right-hand corner between her body and the first part of the tapis, somewhere at or near the upper part of the left thigh (fig. 2b), so as to keep the whole tapis in place.

Some women put it on in an opposite direction, tucking in at the right, but the result is practically the same.

Whenever, through walking or other exercise, her dress becomes loose, she has to rearrange it in the same way as described above. This happens very often, when no supplementary girdle keeps the tapis in place, and it can be done rather modestly, although, in fact, it is not always done so.

It may happen that it is very hard for a woman to keep herself covered decently, when taking a squatting or sitting posture. In this case, she will lift up her tapis and push it between her legs in front, preferring to bare her thighs and even her buttocks, rather than to run the risk of exposing the private parts.

TATTOOING

Tattooing is an almost universal practice among our mountaineers, and it often takes the place of an upper garment.

We purposely use the term "garment," as in the eyes of many of our people, the tattooing is not always merely an adornment, but is very often a cheap, permanent and beautiful means of covering their naked skin, especially in the case of women. We have had practical proofs of this statement on innumerable occasions. When, for instance, we have asked them why they tattooed their bodies, they have answered us: "That is our way of clothing ourselves." When whites have urged them to stop the practice, they have retorted: "We have to, lest we be naked," or: "Why, then we should be naked,"⁹ and so on.¹⁰

However, headhunting also plays a rôle here, and a very important one, at least with the generality of the men, as very often the amount and the designs of the tattooing depend on whether or not the man in question has killed¹¹ any enemies, and sometimes the tattooing increases in proportion to the number of heads that have been taken.

⁹ In the Igorot dialects, the term "naked" does not always stand for "stark-naked;" it generally means: without any upper garment.

¹⁰ Cf. description of the tattooing of the South Kalinga men.

¹¹ Cutting off the head of an enemy who has died a natural death is also considered as a sign of bravery, on account of the comparatively large number of people one has to drive away, as dead bodies are usually well guarded, and the death and funeral of a person is generally the occasion of a large gathering. This was the explanation given to us by the Isnég, when we asked them how they could call *matñgal* (brave) a man who cut off the head of a dead person. On the other hand it should not be forgotten that persons are very often killed and beheaded stealthily, while unaware of the approach of an enemy, and that women and

It should be noted in this connection that the Ibaloy and the Kankanay abandoned headhunting long ago, so that no Ibaloy and very few Kankanay braves are still alive; and that the Isneg abandoned headhunting some fifteen years ago, which explains the scarcity of Isneg individuals tattooed with the *andóri*, which will be described in due time.

Sometimes the Igorot tattoo their deformities (e.g., goiters, etc.), in which case tattooing is supposed to have a curative value.

The tattooed part is hidden from view only in one case, namely: the thighs of Isneg women, all of whom wear the tapis, which seems to render the tattooing entirely useless.¹²

The question of tattooing will later be taken up in detail for each particular group; here we shall merely describe the general way of performing it.

children as well as men may be chosen as victims. Consequently, besides bravery and revenge, another factor must enter here into consideration, namely: the question of human sacrifices, which we believe is the principal reason for the practice of headhunting. When two Ifugaw from Hapaw lost their lives at Gensadan (Kankanay) some 14 or 15 years ago, the harvest had been bad for several years, and the old men had been spreading the report that Kabunian (the Supreme Being) clamored for a head, and that the only means of obtaining a rich harvest was to kill some enemy, although the Kankanay had abandoned headhunting for many years. It may be mentioned incidentally that seven years before a Gensadan man had been killed by Ifugaw from Hapaw. The heads of the two Ifugaw victims were not cut off, probably through fear of being detected by the authorities; nevertheless, all customary ceremonies were performed at Gensadan, and also at Bauco, one of whose inhabitants had accompanied the victims to Gensadan, and had received as a reward a finger of one of the murdered Ifugaw.

¹² It will be seen later on that all Isneg women, besides using the tapis, wear also a supplementary G-string, made of bark and identical with the only article of dress worn by some Mangian women, on the island of Mindoro. May not both facts, the tattooing actually covered by the tapis and the wearing of the G-string, hint at some period in the past, before the introduction of cotton cloth, when Isneg women wore nothing but the G-string? And, going a step farther, may it not be possible that, before the introduction of cloth or of cotton and weaving, the typical and original woman's dress among our mountaineers was the one actually worn by the Mangian, especially when one bears in mind that a belt of rattan, like that worn by the latter to keep the G-string in place, is still used by women in some villages of the Bontok Igorot and of the South Kalinga, while in many of the latter it is found hanging in their houses and preserved as a souvenir of former days? The tattooing on the thighs of the Isneg women might perhaps be ascribed to some magical purpose, of which, however, we have no positive knowledge. Moreover, the same kind of tattooing is found occasionally on the thighs of Isneg men, which are always uncovered.

The operator, who is generally a man, first besmears the skin that has to be tattooed, with a mixture (Kn. *bido*; Is. *tálañg*¹³) of soot (obtained by burning certain kinds of wood, chiefly pitch pine) and of either juice of the sugar cane,¹⁴ or, where no sugar cane grows, lard (Ibaloy), gall and hen's excrement, and so forth (Kankanay).

He then pricks the skin with a needle or some other pointed instrument, so as to form all kinds of designs, mostly straight, broken and curved lines, occasionally stars, and so forth, which very often form a rather artistic whole. In general, the scantier the clothing, the more abundant and exquisite the tattoo.

The pointed instrument used by the Kankanay is a comparatively small piece of wood terminated by three iron points, and is called *gísi* in their dialect. The Ifugaw use an instrument made entirely of iron with either two or three points (fig. 67). The Kalinga use five needles at a time. The Isneg use a curved, S-shaped piece of rattan in which four or five pins are stuck, at one end; a string connects both ends with the central part of the instrument, and during the operation, the Isneg repeatedly beats the curve next to the pins, on its convex side, in order to push these pins into the skin. This instrument is called *igihísi* in Isneg (figs. 65-66).

In any case, the tattooed part generally swells up enormously, and it takes some time before it comes back to its original proportions. Consequently, the patient can rarely endure the entire operation all at one time, and at least several weeks are needed to complete it, whenever the tattoo covers a somewhat large area. It may even happen that the tattoo is completely finished only after several years, because many young men and girls wait a long time after each partial tattooing, before they start with the next one. Besides, as has been stated above,

¹³ Key to abbreviations: Ib. stands for Ibaloy dialect; Kn. stands for Kankanay dialect; If. stands for Ifugaw dialect; B.I. stands for Bontok Igorot dialect; Kl. stands for Kalinga dialect; Is. stands for Isneg dialect.

Key to pronunciation: a as in pardon; i as in fish; o as in hope; u as in full; g as in guilty; h as in house; ñg as in bring; te as eh in chin.

The hyphen (-) represents the glottal catch.

The pronunciation of e differs from group to group. In general, it is pronounced as a in bare, in open syllables, or as e in let, in closed syllables. For the sake of clearness, whenever it is pronounced differently, we shall use another letter, namely: á pronounced as u in but; ö pronounced like the German ö.

¹⁴ To the soot and juice of the sugar cane, the Ifugaw add the juice of the *látoñg*, a plant with edible leaves and beans, the latter enclosed in pods from 6 to 8 inches long.

headhunting very often influences the tattooing, and, consequently, in many cases, no fixed period can be assigned either to the whole operation, or to further additions and modifications.

THE IBALOY

The Ibaloy do not weave their own clothes, but buy them from other people, and, in olden times, according to their own testimony, the bark of trees served them for cloth.

Men

All Ibaloy men wear the G-string, called *kobuál* in their dialect. The part that encircles the body is worn low, and both ends, one in front, the other behind, hang loose; these ends, however, are very short and barely reach halfway down the thighs.

The G-string is generally white, with a border of black (yellow for young men) on both sides, but the color has usually lost its original brightness.

This essential garment is worn by children as soon as they reach a certain age, regularly about five or six years, but comparatively rather early, before which time they are simply clothed with their innocence.

Native upper garments are unknown, except the blanket, which is worn more or less generally according to climatic conditions.

To put on the blanket, the Ibaloy takes hold of both its upper ends, one in each hand, holding it spread out over the back, at the height of the shoulders. Then he turns both corners over his shoulders and brings them in front, letting the left-hand corner hang, and throwing the right-hand corner over the left shoulder. This is the most ordinary way, but other ways of wearing the blanket may be met with occasionally.

These blankets are rectangular and rather large, and protect the wearer completely from neck to knees, and sometimes even lower. When the Ibaloy huddle in groups around the fire or just for the sake of sociability, or when they rest from their labors, they are protected entirely by their blanket, which allows only their head to protrude.

The most common blanket (Ib. *kolibáw*; Kn. *bandála*) consists ordinarily of three long pieces, that are white in the middle, with a dark-blue border on each longer side, and sometimes patches with dark-blue designs at both shorter sides. The well-to-do, especially on days of public rejoicing, use other kinds, and more commonly a dark-blue blanket (Ib. *tcindí*; Kn. *kuábaw*), ornamented with several red stripes,

and with broad bands of white patches surrounding dark-blue designs, all stripes and bands running lengthwise. These designs represent mortars (Kn. *níluslusóñg*; If. *linúhhoñg*), men (Kn. *iníp-ipugáv*; If. *tinatágu*), snakes (Kn. *inuúeg*; If. *inúlog*), etc. Occasionally some parts are made up of alternate white and dark-blue bands, running lengthwise. The fringes, which often appear on both shorter sides, are generally red and dark-blue, sometimes red and yellow, alternating.

The Ibaloy men cut their hair short, and sometimes encircle the head with a comparatively narrow (about two or three inches) piece of cloth or bark. If the latter is long, they wind it a second time around the head, one fold on the other. In this headcloth, which they call *tcĩñg-ét*, the Ibaloy often stick their pipe. Other articles may be placed in the folds of the G-string at the waist, generally in front, either right or left of the center.

Tattooing is very rare, and, when it occurs, the designs and the parts tattooed differ from individual to individual.

No ear pendants or other ornaments are worn by men. On special occasions, they wear a clean new G-string of different colors, broader and larger than the ordinary one, but nothing else.

Formerly, however, Ibaloy men often wore a leglet consisting of one (*buandáy*) or more (*buadíng*) copper rings, but at present a string, a dog's tail, or something else, takes its place, though this too is often dispensed with.

Women

The Ibaloy women wear the tapis, called *a-tén* in their dialect (fig. 3). The Ibaloy tapis is by far the largest and broadest of all the different varieties that are found in the Mountain Province; it generally reaches far below the knees, and covers the body up to the waist. Besides, it is rather uncommon to see one of the woman's bare thighs protrude while she walks.

They have a special way of tucking in one end of the tapis: instead of using its tip, they usually tuck in a part at some distance from the tip, so as to let the latter hang loose; in this way its corresponding lower end hangs much lower than the rest of the tapis, to which it gives a kind of triangular addition beneath (fig. 3, central figure). This is rarely done by women of other tribes, at least in such a conspicuous way.

The Ibaloy tapis is generally woven in broad horizontal bands of different colors, white and dark-blue or red predominating, while here and there usually appear more or less broad patches of white, checkered

or cross-barred, with bands and stripes of various colors, red, dark-blue red and yellow, etc.



FIG. 3. IBALOY WOMEN IN SWEET-POTATO FIELD

FIG. 4. IGOROT WOMAN WEAVING

Originally no supplementary girdle was worn by the Ibaloy women, but at present there is a tendency to wind a narrow piece of cloth, often

a man's G-string, around the waist. It is knotted in front with a single knot, and the ends hang loose, short and inconspicuous.

Ibaloy girls begin wearing the tapis at about the same age at which the boys begin to wear the G-string, but generally a little earlier.

The Ibaloy women have a special native upper garment, the *kambuál*, which they wear almost constantly, even though they be working in the field. Girls and young women are never seen without it; others, rarely.

This garment consists of a simple jacket to be closed in front, and buttoned up at least at the top, somewhere below the chin, both borders meeting in parallel lines from above downward, so that their breasts rarely protrude, except when they stoop. The sleeves are generally wide, and reach at least to the elbow.

Both the tapis and the jacket have the same arrangement of stripes and checkered parts.

At the back of the jacket is usually attached a rectangular piece of cloth, made up exclusively either of checkered parts (usual) or of stripes (rare), white and dark-blue or red, etc. This cloth hangs loose from the top, where it is sewed on the jacket over both shoulders and along the nape of the neck, and it covers the back of the jacket almost completely (fig. 3, central figure, at right arm).

When carrying loads, the Ibaloy women very often wear their jacket turned around front side in back, with the opening on the back, in order to avoid dirtying it too much, as they carry their loads on their backs.

In many cases, however, especially in everyday use and at work, the tapis is shorter than usual and the jacket has no supplementary cloth attached to it.

Besides these articles of dress, the Ibaloy women also wear the same kind of blankets as those worn by the men, but not so extensively. They put them on in the same way, except that the right-hand corner, instead of passing over the right shoulder, generally passes under the right arm, before it is thrown over the left shoulder.

The Ibaloy women allow their hair to hang loose on the back, but in many cases (originally only the rich) they use a broad headcloth (*teiñg-ét*), ordinarily of white cloth, which is wound several times around the head in the form of a turban, without covering, however, the crown of the head. Under this headcloth they occasionally tuck either their front tresses only or all of them.

They tattoo their arms from somewhere above the elbow down to the wrist, and the back of the hand up to the knuckles. The designs are rather close to one another and leave comparatively little of the skin

to be seen (fig. 37). Nowadays this custom of tattooing is tending to disappear.

The Ibaloy women very often wear a necklace of one or more strings, either of white (*kadián* or *baadiáw*) or black (*dañgkigíd*) beans or of short pieces of vegetable pith (*bañg-áv*), hanging loose and long, and almost reaching the waist line in front.

A few rich women wear a thin plate of gold (*teekáñg*) under their upper lip almost completely covering their upper teeth, but this custom is becoming more and more obsolete. The same may be said of simple copper bracelets (*kariñg*) and ear pendants (*tabiñg*), which are rarely seen nowadays. These ear pendants consist of a short chain of comparatively large copper rings, terminating in a flat, round, coin-like piece.

THE KANKANAY

The Kankanay weave their own clothes. This is done by women exclusively. All weaving is done by hand and without loom (fig. 4).

The Kankanay women attach one end of the warp to a branch of a tree, some part of the house, a beam, a post, or other thing, and the other end to their waist. Sticks and canes take the place of heddles.

The pieces are generally long and narrow, about the length and breadth of a G-string, and, when a broader piece is needed (e.g. a blanket, or tapis), the woman weaves two or three ordinary pieces separately and then sews them together.

Men

All Kankanay men wear the G-string, called *waná's* in their dialect. The part that encircles the body is worn low, and, on both sides, in front and behind, the ends hang loose; these ends are generally long and reach to about the knees. They are often tucked in the G-string at the waist, when some work has to be done that would soil them.

The common G-string (*baá*) is dark-blue with three narrow red stripes running lengthwise, at equal distance from each other, and with or without fancy edging. The rich wear G-strings ornamented with red, sometimes yellow or red and yellow, designs, woven in more or less broad patches at both ends (*sinuláman*). Other G-strings may be seen occasionally: plain white (*pinallasán*), dark-blue with several transverse white lines at each end (*pinalidáñg*), etc.

Kankanay boys do not wear the G-string at such an early age as do the Ibaloy, but they generally wear the blanket (*laö'y* or *galö'y*) more

extensively. As the latter is ordinarily worn as a kind of cloak, it very often happens that practically only the back and the sides of the body are covered.

Native upper garments are unknown, except the blanket, which is worn rather generally and in the same way, as described under "Ibaloy Men."

The same kinds of blankets, as described under "Ibaloy Men," are worn by the Kankanay, but the use of the dark-blue blanket is more general with the latter, probably on account of their weaving their own clothes. A few other blankets are occasionally, but rarely, met with.

The Kankanay men cut their hair short, except on top, where they let it fall sideways and over the forehead. They very often encircle the head with a piece of cloth or bark (*kúba*), like the Ibaloy. This headcloth is called *badbá'd*.

The Kankanay use their headcloth and G-string to tuck in whatever they want to take along with them, in the same way as the Ibaloy do. However, when going on a journey, they carry their provisions and other belongings in a generally rather small stiff basket (*úpig*), slung from the shoulder. This basket is made of rattan and consists of two parts unequal in size, the smaller one fitting exactly into the larger one, which serves the former as a cover. It is as long at the base as it is at the ridgelike top, but the larger sides, which connect the top with the base, gradually bulge out from above downward, until they reach the base, which is flat and rectangular, while the smaller sides are triangular (with apex at the top of the basket) and usually flat also.

To their pipe is very often attached a thin, rather long copper chain, from which dangle one or more ornaments,—such as, coins, copper ornaments in the shape of a three-toothed crescent (*lañguík*),—and to which is fastened a ring (*palikaw*) with nippers and piercers (fig. 23, second man from left).

The remarks made about Ibaloy tattooing (Kn. *bátak*) may be repeated here.

Copper bracelets (*gádiñg*), like those of the Ifugaw, but with fewer coils, are worn occasionally by rare individuals (fig. 5, woman in center). A few old men still wear the C-shaped ear pendant (*wísiñg*), described under "Ifugaw Men" (fig. 33). Sometimes, although rarely, on special occasions, fantastic ornamentation of the headcloth may be seen, e.g. feathers, leaves, and even carabao horns. For the rest, no ornaments are worn by men; on special occasions, they ordinarily wear a clean G-string and a clean headband, but nothing else.



FIG. 5. IFUGAW MAN AND WOMEN

Women

The Kankanay women wear the tapis, called *bak-út*, *gabō'y* or *gítáp* in their dialect. The Kankanay tapis is usually shorter and narrower than that of the Ibaloy; it generally reaches the knees or a little below, and covers the body up to the waist line. As in the case of the Ibaloy, it is rather uncommon to see one of the woman's bare thighs protrude, while she walks. When a girdle is worn, the upper part of the tapis sometimes overlaps.

The ordinary Kankanay tapis is white with occasional dark-blue bands, like the common Ibaloy blanket. Sometimes, however, it is of the same color and design as the dark-blue blanket of the rich Ibaloy; this tapis is called *kintá'g*. Rich Kankanay women usually wear the latter kind of tapis, ornamented besides with red, and sometimes yellow, designs woven in more or less broad patches, on both shorter sides, as on rich Kankanay men's G-strings. Other kinds of tapis are rather an exception, e.g., white and dark-blue bands alternating, dark-blue with white stripes, etc.

The Kankanay women sometimes wear a supplementary girdle, called *bakgá't*, to keep the tapis in place, especially when going to work in the field and after childbirth. This girdle is generally about three or four inches broad and can be wound twice around the body. It terminates in fringes at both ends, two of which, one at each end, are wound around the body and over the girdle to keep the latter in place (fig. 26). The rest of the fringes dangles at one of the sides, generally the left. This girdle is usually either white, with red and dark-blue designs, or striped yellow and red.

Kankanay girls begin wearing the tapis at about the same age at which the boys begin to wear the G-string, and they also use the blanket more extensively than do the Ibaloy. They generally wear the blanket in the same way as do the Ibaloy women, one of the corners passing under the arm instead of over the shoulder, and so one of the girl's sides is usually bare, showing more or less the profile of her naked body. Children being apt to run and gambol at every turn, it goes without saying that the blanket has to be rearranged almost continually, and that their little bodies are as often nude as they are covered. In running games, the blanket is often reduced to a seemingly narrow strip of cloth attached somewhere to the upper part of a naked little body, and floating behind.

The Kankanay women have a special native upper garment, the *akláñg*, which is worn by the generality of girls and young women;

others often wear it, but as often do without. A woman is not allowed to wear it for some time after the birth of a child, lest she seem not to care for her offspring.

This garment consists of a simple jacket, to be closed in front and buttoned up only at the top, somewhere below the chin. The opening occasioned by the unbuttoned condition of the lower part, gradually widens from above downward, although not in a very obtrusive way. The sleeves are generally rather narrow and rarely reach the elbow.



FIG. 6. IFUGAW MAN AND BOY

FIG. 7. IFUGAW WOMEN AND JAR

This jacket is generally white, with borders of either dark-blue only (*lammá*) or dark-blue, red and sometimes yellow designs (*kinadañgián*). A small square patch (*paúñgay*), of the same colors and designs as the borders, ornaments the top of the jacket at the nape of the neck.

When the woman is pregnant for the first time, the whole dress,—jacket and tapis,—is plain white without any ornamental woven designs (*lúbuñg*).

The Kankanay women also wear the same kinds of blankets as those

worn by the men, but not so extensively. They wear them in the same way as do the Ibaloy women.

The Kankanay women allow their hair to hang loose on the back, but, in many towns and villages, especially in the north (Bontok Sub-province), they cut it off at the height of the shoulders; this they call *kinná't*.

They generally wear a string of beads around the head; this is called a *bañgō'*. Other *bañgō'* without beads are occasionally met with, but most of them are only temporary, e.g.:

A string of red-and-black beans of the *bugayyóñg* or *Abrus precatorius*. Linn.;

The *ginátga't*: a string of pieces of the *sañgoñgóan* grass, *Andropogon micranthus*. Kth.;

The *sinallañgtan*: plaited *sañgoñgóan*;

The *kannáwōy*: a string of petioles of cassava leaves;

The *boktó*: a strip of rattan with haulms of a kind of coarse grass (*sañgsañgittán*, *Sporobolus elongatus*. R. Br.) wound around it;

The *binatikúá*: haulms of the *sañgsañgittán* plaited with the *suy-ót*, or threads of the warp that remain after the cloth is finished;

The *kinommi*: haulms of the *sañgsañgittán* plaited together;

The *ginátgátá*: leaves of the sugar cane; etc.

Sometimes coins are attached to the *bañgō'*, and dangle at the back of the head; these are called *payápōy*. On special occasions, feathers, leaves, flowers, etc. (*bayáya*), are often stuck in the *bañgō'*.

The Kankanay women tattoo their arms in the same way as do the Ibaloy women.

They often wear earrings (*samō'y*), and sometimes bracelets, but there is nothing special or showy about them, except perhaps the *bilóso*, a kind of white stone tied over the wrist. Collars of scraped rattan dyed red (*banáñga*) or, in the case of wealthy women, copper collars (*bañggō'*), may be seen occasionally.

In a few instances, Kankanay girls dye their teeth with a black dye (*ládoñg*), extracted from the fruit of the *balláy* or *Gunnera macrophylla*. Bl.

THE IFUGAW

The Ifugaw weave their own clothes in the same way as do the Kankanay (fig. 4).

Men

All Ifugaw men wear the G-string, called *binúhlan* or *wánno* in their dialect (figs. 5-6). The part that encircles the body is worn high and tight, and on both sides, in front and behind, the ends hang loose; these ends are generally long and reach somewhere to or below the knees. They are occasionally, although rarely, tucked in the G-string, when some work has to be done that would soil them.

The G-string is generally made of dark-blue (almost black) cloth, with a red stripe running lengthwise in the middle, between two yellow, or occasionally red, lines, which either touch the middle stripe imme-



FIG. 8. IFUGAW BOYS DANCING

diately, or are woven at some distance from it. Plain white G-strings (the G-strings of the poor) are met with, occasionally in some districts, very often in others.

The fringes (*talun̄gátun̄g*), at both ends, are generally of the same color as the rest, and they are usually crowned with designs consisting of a red broken line (*tin̄iku*), or alternating red, yellow and dark-blue broken lines (*kud̄ilap*).

In a few places, the G-string is ornamented with red and yellow designs, woven in more or less broad patches at both ends (*hán̄gbo*). In others, a small round piece of white shell is attached to the red middle stripe, at the fore end of the G-string (fig. 5).

Ifugaw boys begin wearing the G-string at about the same age as do the Ibaloy.

Native upper garments are unknown, except the blanket, which is worn much less frequently than is the case with the Ibaloy and Kankanay, and which is usually rolled up and thrown over the shoulders, the loose ends dangling at the back, and the central part crossing the chest (fig. 5, girl in upper row, at right). Some of these blankets, worn by the inhabitants of a few villages, are rather short and cover the wearer only from the neck to the waist line. They mostly consist of a piece of dark-blue or red cloth, bought from outsiders.

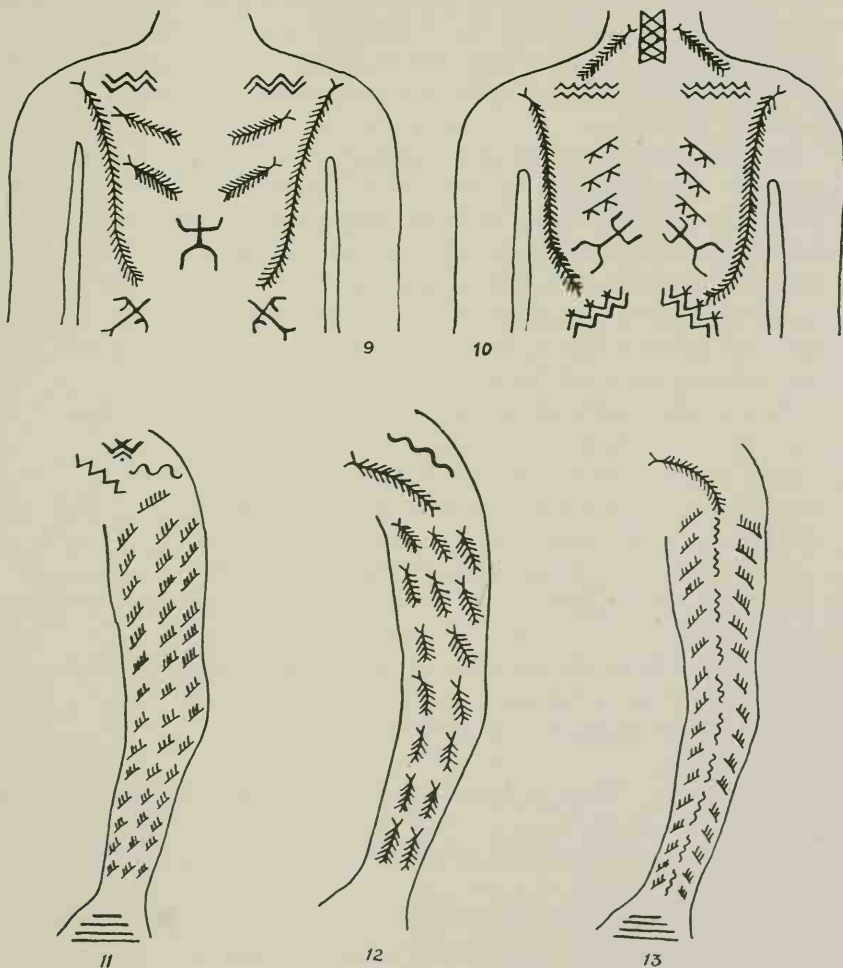
But the common native blankets are much more general. Some are made of dark-blue (almost black) cloth with white stripes (*hápe*). Others are identical with the blankets of the well-to-do Ibaloy, namely dark-blue, with narrow plain red stripes and broad white bands, covered with dark-blue designs, which represent mortars (*linúhhoñg*), men (*tinatágu*), snakes (*inúlog*), stars (*bittuon*), iguanas (*bánnia*), spears (*hinólgat*), etc. These blankets are called *bayáoñg*.

In some districts, white blankets are the rule, but they are variously ornamented: some (*úhhin*) have a certain number of narrow red stripes; others (*tín-um*) have narrow blue stripes alternating with yellow ones; others again (*háyda*) have here and there a blue stripe flanked on both sides by alternating red and yellow ones.

The Ifugaw men cut their hair short all around the head, but allow the central part to grow rather long, so that they seem to wear a cap of hair. This is a special kind of bob, similar, for instance, to that met with in Brazil (figs. 6 and 8). In a few localities, they sometimes wear a blanket wound around the head in the form of a turban (fig. 5).

Most all implements they take along with them are carried in a pouch made of cloth (Kn. *dúkaw*; If. *ambáyuñg* or *bútoñg*). Both sides of this pouch narrow down at the top to a kind of relatively long tube, where the opening is closed by a series of small copper rings, which are usually strung on a supplementary large one. The whole outfit takes more or less the form of a triangle, the base of which is the body of the pouch. The other two sides are formed by the above-described tube at the apex of which are the rings. The lower part of the pouch is often trimmed with fringes. To carry it the Ifugaw pass the upper part with the rings under the G-string from beneath, generally at the back, on the right or left side, keeping the rings above the G-string, so as to prevent the pouch from falling down (fig. 8, two boys, center, and first at right).

A few other much valued belongings and also whatever they need for the chewing of betel nut, are carried in a kind of small, flat, rectangular basket (*upigan*), made of rattan, and consisting of two parts, unequal in



FIGS. 9-10. TATTOOING ON IFUGAW MAN'S CHEST

FIGS. 11-13. TATTOOING ON IFUGAW MAN'S ARM

size, the smaller one fitting exactly in the larger one, which serves the former as a cover. They generally tuck this basket in the G-string or carry it in the first-mentioned pouch of cloth.

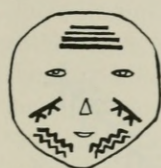
The inhabitants of a few villages of the Ifugaw, when going on a journey, carry their provisions and other belongings in a large open basket (Kn. *bañgō'w*) made of rattan. A broad piece of woven rattan, covered with hair at the outside, covers the basket at the top and at one side (the one opposite the back of the carrier), and prevents the rain from moistening both its contents and its carrier. This basket is generally worn on the back and strapped over the shoulders like a knapsack (fig. 23, first man at left).

In a few districts, the Ifugaw men tattoo only their arms, and in a very few others, tattooing (*bátok*) has almost entirely disappeared. But, in general, men of about thirty years old tattoo almost all parts of their body, except the back and the feet, with all kinds of fantastic designs. Tattooing of the chest (figs. 9 and 10), the arms (figs. 11-13), and the shoulders is general, while tattooing of the face (fig. 14), the buttocks, and the legs is less so. Young men usually tattoo only the neck and the upper part of the chest (figs. 15-17).

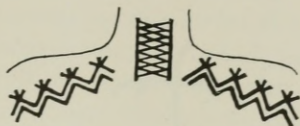
We shall give here a few designs used by the Ifugaw (see fig. 22):

- a). The *tinágu* (man): on chest (center);
- b). The *kináhu* (dog): on chest and cheeks;
- c). The *gináwañg* (eagle): on chest and shoulders;
- d). The *ginayáman* (centipede): anywhere;
- e). The same, but larger: on both sides of chest;
- f). The *kinúlat* (lightning): on neck and shoulders, also on lower part of chest;
- g). The *hinúliab*: from shoulders to neck, also on arms and thighs;
- h). The *inánghkid*: on arms;
- i). The *pinulikáwkaw*: anywhere (rare);
- j). On chest;
- k). On arms. These last five are called by names of plants, mostly grasses.
- l). The *tiníku*: from shoulders to neck, also on arms and thighs;
- m). A variant of l).
- n). The *hinañgháñgal*: on throat;
- o). The *halápag*: on forehead and back of the hands;
- p). The *pón̄go* (bracelet): on elbows, wrists and back of the hands (mostly of women);
- q). A variant of p).
- r). See q).
- s). See q).

Many Ifugaw men wear earrings or ear pendants (*hñgat*), and seven



14



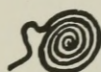
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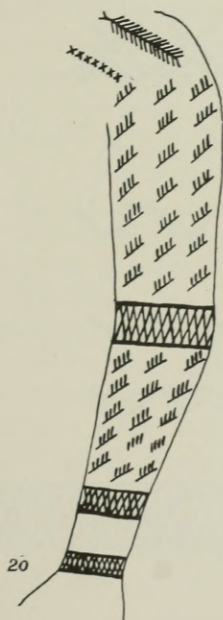
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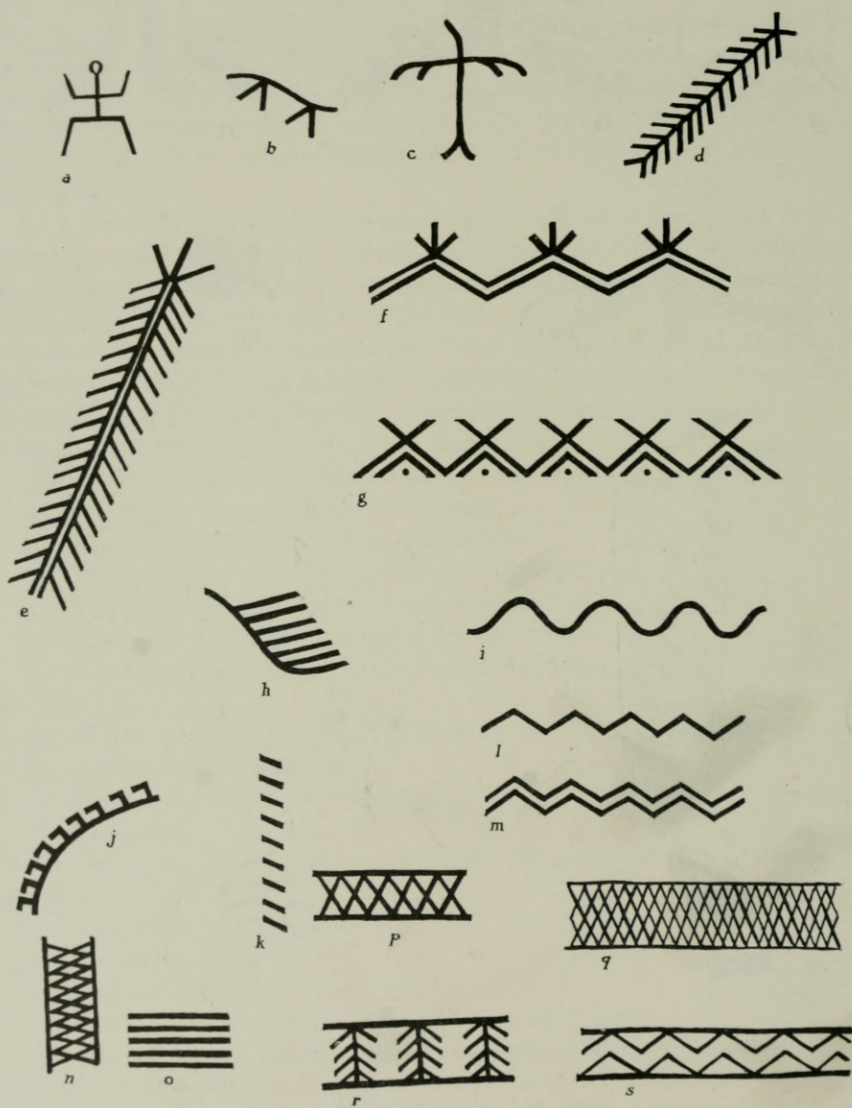


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FIG. 14. TATTOOING ON IFUGAW MAN'S FACE
 FIGS. 15-17. TATTOOING ON IFUGAW MAN'S THROAT
 FIG. 18. IFUGAW EAR PENDANT
 FIG. 19. IFUGAW ARMLET
 FIG. 20. TATTOOING ON IFUGAW WOMAN'S ARM
 FIG. 21. TATTOOING ON IFUGAW WOMAN'S SHOULDERBLADE

FIG. 22. *a-s* DESIGNS IN IFUGAW TATTOOING

different kinds are met with. The less elaborate consist either of a rather large copper ring, or of a string of small beads; others consist of the same kind of copper ring, from which dangles a ring (sometimes two) made of white shell, the latter ring being generally the smaller of the two. Four kinds are very characteristic:

First, a piece of copper wire, which is rolled up so as to form a small disk; its end, which remains straight, passes through the lobe of the ear (fig. 18).

Second, a heavy peace of gold, silver (from a 50-centavo coin) or copper, in the shape of a C with much enlarged points that almost meet (figs. 33, and 32, the upper part of the ear pendant), sometimes flanked on both sides (top and bottom of C) with a variously shaped, comparatively large projection.

Third, one or two long and narrow, more or less spatulate pieces of white or brownish shell, dangling from a small ring of stringed beads or of copper wire (fig. 5, woman in center).

Fourth, a piece of white shell in the shape of a topped clover leaf with two leaflets (fig. 32, lower part of ear pendant), which dangles from a small ring of stringed beads or of copper wire.

Not a few Ifugaw men wear necklaces. In most places, they use a string of from two to eight pieces of gold or silver or copper in the shape of a C, as described above (*balitók*), and worn tight at the base of the neck (fig. 6, the boy), and occasionally one or more additional strings of amber beads (*páng-o*), which generally hang much lower than the preceding (figs. 6, the boy, and 5). In other places, they wear a rather tight necklace of large trapezoidal pieces of shell, the shorter sides of which are uppermost (fig. 7).

A good many Ifugaw men wear leglets above the calf (fig. 6, the boy). These leglets usually consist of a long piece of thick copper wire, wound spirally into some twenty to forty coils, gradually increasing in width from above downward.

In a few districts, they wear also bracelets (*póngo*) of the same kind, but in this case the coils generally decrease from above downward (fig. 5, woman in center, left arm).

Others again wear armlets (*baníngal*), made of two tusks of a wild boar. The bases of the tusks meet and the points are connected by a string of rattan (fig. 19).

Another ornament, mostly worn on special occasions, consists of a kind of belt (Kn. *lasuik*; If. *ginúttu*) of round pieces of white shell, resembling enlarged buttons, and kept together by a string of rattan

died red. This belt is worn at the waist, usually from somewhere at the right side to the upper part of the left thigh and then allowed to hang loose at the left side. Sometimes however, the horizontal por-



FIG. 23. BONTOK IGOROT MEN

FIG. 24. BONTOK IGOROT BOYS

tion is smaller. The pieces of shell decrease gradually in size from above downward, and the dangling, loose prolongation is sometimes double. Very often at the intersection of both horizontal and vertical parts, a

supernumerary piece of shell is fixed, which is larger than the rest and generally round, with more or less indented circumference; its center usually consists of a round piece of red shell, while the rest is white, like the other pieces (figs. 5-6, man at left).

Here follows an enumeration of a few ornaments occasionally worn on the head in some districts:

Three or four small feathers (*kúñgkuñg*) tied to the hair at the occipital region;

A large sickle, or tail feather of a cock (*kúñgkuñg*) tied to the hair at the forehead;

A rather heavy piece of white and blue porcelain, in the shape of a bird, attached to the hair somewhere at or near the crown of the head.

At the time of marriage ceremonies, a groom's complete outfit consists of at least the following:

1. A *tinónue*, or new G-string with *hāñgbo* designs;
2. *Pāñg-o* and *balitók* necklaces;
3. The *kāñgo*, or beak of a large bird, fixed upon the top of the head; this ornament is used only on this occasion;
4. A *ginúttu* belt, with cutlass and sheath;
5. Ear pendants;
6. A *bayáoñg* blanket.

Women

The Ifugaw women wear the tapis, called *ampúyo* or *tólge* in their dialect (figs. 5 and 7). The Ifugaw tapis has about the same size as that of the Kankanay, but, because it is usually rolled up or folded at the upper side, in front, it generally barely reaches the knees. It is worn below the abdomen, and, as is the case with both the Ibaloy and the Kankanay, it is quite uncommon to see one of the woman's bare thighs protrude, while she walks.

The ordinary Ifugaw tapis usually consists of blue cloth, with narrow white horizontal stripes, and two broken (not continuous) double lines of red triangles or squares at equal distance from each other (at both places, where one of the three pieces of the tapis has been sewed to the next one). A similar line of red triangles or rectangles appears also on both edges, the upper one and the lower one; but, in this case, the line is single, not double.

Some Ifugaw women wear a plain white tapis; others a dark-blue (almost black) one with white stripes (*hápe*); still others a tapis of the same color and design as the *bayáoñg* blanket, and called by the same

name *bayáoŋg*. In some places, they use plain blue or red cloth bought from outsiders.

The Ifugaw women wear a girdle of blue cloth, called *bálko*, to keep the tapis in place. This girdle is generally about three or four inches wide, and its central part is at the back. The two ends, after having crossed each other in front, are tucked in at the back,—one at the right, the other at the left,—where they are very often ornamented with red or red and yellow, sometimes dark-blue, fringes or tassels. Occasionally the girdle is tied at the back with a single knot, the projecting ends remaining very short. On special occasions, they wear a girdle ornamented in the middle (at the back) and at both ends with red or red and yellow woven designs, consisting of stripes, or lines of stars or mortars, close to one another (*háŋgbo*).

Ifugaw girls begin wearing the tapis at about the same age as the boys begin wearing the G-string, but it is often more or less diminutive.

In a few villages, the Ifugaw women have a special native upper garment, which they use rather rarely. This garment is a comparatively short, sleeveless jacket of plain white cloth. It barely reaches the waist, and it has to be put on over the head, as it has no opening either in front or behind. However, most Ifugaw women have no special upper garment and go half-naked.

The Ifugaw women occasionally wear blankets of the same kind as those worn by the men, sometimes in the same way as the Ifugaw men (fig. 5, girl in upper row, at right), but more generally in the manner described under "Ibaloy Men," except that the blanket covers only the upper part of the body (fig. 5, woman in lower row, at right).

Some Ifugaw women allow their hair to hang loose on the back, but most of them fold it upon the head, and keep it in place with string of beads (*atáke* or *inípul*), which they wind twice or several times around the head, sometimes allowing the top of their tresses to hang loose at one side (fig. 5). The *atáke* consists of small white or red beads or both; the *inípul*, of large beads, made of a kind of light-colored agate. If neither of these two is used to keep the hair in place, one of them is worn as a loose necklace, the *atáke* threefold or fourfold, the *inípul* double or threefold.

The Ifugaw women usually place their belongings in the folds of the tapis, in front and at the top, or in a pouch made of cloth and identical with the above-described one used by the men, except that it has no rings, and consequently is either carried in the hand or placed in the folds of the tapis.



FIG. 25. BONTOK IGOROT MEN

FIG. 26. BONTOK IGOROT MAN AND WOMAN

FIG. 27. BONTOK IGOROT WOMEN WITH SPECIAL DRESS

FIG. 28. BONTOK IGOROT WOMAN IN RICE-FIELD COSTUME

In most districts, the Ifugaw women tattoo their arms (fig. 20) up to the shoulderblade (fig. 21). In a few places tattooing has almost disappeared. For designs, see "Men."

The earrings or ear pendants, and necklaces, worn by the men are also used by the women. In general, the necklace of amber beads hangs much lower than is the case with the men (sometimes it reaches the pit of the woman's stomach), and, in rare instances, it branches out in front into two or three rows of beads.

The copper bracelets, occasionally worn by men, are very generally used by the women (fig. 5, woman in center, left arm).

At the time of marriage ceremonies, the bride arranges one of the strings of her *atáke* over some small ornament (*dũṅduṅ*) worn on the head in front. Actually this ornament is very often a small cross or something similar. A bride's complete outfit consists of at least the following:

1. A new tapis, called *gámit* on this occasion;
2. A girdle with *háṅbo* designs, called *máyad* on this occasion;
3. *Páṅ-o* and *balitók* necklaces;
4. *Atáke* and *inípul* strings of beads;
5. The *dũṅduṅ*, just mentioned, on the head;
6. Ear pendants.

THE BONTOK IGOROT

The Bontok Igorot weave their own clothes, in the same way as do the Kankanay and the Ifugaw (fig. 4).

Men

Actually most all Bontok Igorot men wear the G-string, called *waná's* in their dialect (figs. 23, 25-27). The part that encircles the body is either worn high and tight or low and loose; in front and behind the ends hang loose; these ends are generally long and reach to about the knees.

The G-string is generally made of red cloth, either native or bought from outsiders, and the rich wear native red G-strings ornamented with yellow designs, woven in more or less broad patches at both ends. In a few districts, the G-string is made of the bark of trees.

The Bontok Igorot often do without the G-strings, when some work has to be done that would soil them, or when it rains. In this case they usually cover themselves when meeting a stranger.

Several individuals, mostly old men, do not wear a G-string, but a girdle instead, either a piece of cloth, a rope or a chain, to which is attached, in front, a short but rather broad piece of cloth or bark. This custom tends to disappear, but it probably was the original dress, as may be inferred also from the diverse ways in which the Bontok Igorot wear the G-string, and from the garment worn by a good many young boys as will be seen presently.

Bontok Igorot boys usually do not wear the G-string before they are seven or eight years old, and even at that age some still go without it. Others wear a girdle of cloth, to which is attached in front another long narrow strip of cloth, or a certain number of strings, sometimes even nothing else but a single cord.

Native upper garments are unknown, and even blankets are rare.

The Bontok Igorot men wear their hair long, except in front and at both sides, where they cut it off, at a certain distance above the eyebrows. They also wear a round basket (Kn. *kinaw-ít*; B. I. *soklóñg*), at the back or over the crown of the head. The bottom of this basket is either round, in the shape of a bee hive, or flat (figs. 23-25). They use it as a pocket, putting in it whatever they take along with them, except pipes, etc., which are tucked in the string that keeps the basket in place and runs around the top of the head.

To the pipe is very often attached the same kind of chain with ornaments, as described under "Kankanay Men" (fig. 23, second man from left).

The typical *soklóñg* of young men and of men separated from their wives, is almost flat, about two inches high, and from five to six inches wide. It is made of narrow strips, generally of rattan, and held in shape by two small bamboo sticks put crosswise on the inside, against the bottom. It is commonly made of strips of different colors, white and black predominating, sometimes also yellow. These colored strips usually form concentric circles, but are often worked out in simple designs. Three or four strips of red-colored rattan usually run around the rim, while a couple of them run crosswise over the bottom. At the center, on the outside, are fixed from one to three buttons, made of mother-of-pearl (fig. 24, two boys in center). At each side, right and left, are inserted teeth of dogs or of wild boars, some hair (either human hair or bristles of the wild boar), or a few beads (fig. 24, boy at left).

The *soklóñg* of married men is ordinarily made of plain crude rattan. On special occasions, it is ornamented with small tufts of feathers, which project upward in a direction perpendicular to the bottom of the basket.

The Bontok Igorot men tattoo (*fáták*) their upper arms, chest and face, with all kinds of fantastic designs. The *teaklág* is the breast tattoo of the headtaker. It consists of a series of geometric markings running upward from two points somewhere at the center of the breast, near each nipple, and curving out on each shoulder, where it ends on the upper arm. Two or three sets of horizontal lines are tattooed on the biceps immediately beneath the outer end of the main design.

The Bontok Igorot men wear ear pendants of gold, silver, copper, etc., generally in the shape of a C, as described under "Ifugaw Men" (figs. 33, and 32, upper part of ear pendant). They are also very fond of copper chains, worn around the waist, and these may be seen frequently, especially on days of public rejoicing (fig. 25, man standing at left). Small boys sometimes wear also a simple copper bracelet.

Another kind of adornment, used occasionally, is a large round piece of shell, almost as big as an ordinary plate, and worn somewhere at the waist, in front or at one of the sides. It is perforated in the center, and a string is passed through the opening, in order to attach it (fig. 25, men standing).

The *tañgká*, which is worn almost exclusively at sacrifices offered in connection with headhunting, and which is seldom used nowadays, is a tuft of human hair (from a slain enemy), intertwined with a few strips of rattan, and attached to a ring made of two tusks of a wild boar. It very nearly resembles the *baníngal* of the Ifugaw (fig. 19).

Women

The Bontok Igorot women wear the tapis, called *lúfid* in their dialect (fig. 26). The Bontok Igorot tapis is the shortest of all the different varieties that are found in the Mountain Province. It usually barely reaches the knees, but, as it covers the body up to the waist line and as a supplementary girdle completes the outfit, the general appearance of Bontok Igorot women is much more modest than that of the South Kalinga. As a rule, one of the woman's thighs protrudes and is almost completely bared in front, while she walks.

The Bontok Igorot tapis is generally either red cloth bought from outsiders, or white with occasional dark-blue or red stripes. Sometimes, however, it is of the same color and design as the *kinta'g* of the Kankanay, with the same ornaments in the case of rich women. In a few districts, the tapis is made out of the bark of trees.

The Bontok Igorot women wear a girdle, called *waká's*, to keep the tapis in place. It is the same as the one worn occasionally by the



FIG. 29. SOUTH KALINGA MAN
 FIG. 30. SOUTH KALINGA MAN AND WOMAN
 FIG. 31. SOUTH KALINGA WOMAN
 FIG. 32. SOUTH KALINGA GIRL

Kankanay, except that it is usually white with occasional red designs; and it is worn in the same way, except that the fringes dangle over the buttocks instead of at one of the sides.

Sometimes, instead of a tapis, the Bontok Igorot women wear a set of strips of dried banana leaves, tucked in the girdle from beneath, and covering the body from somewhere below the waist line to about the knees (fig. 27).

When they work in the rice field, or when it rains, they sometimes lift up the tapis, and tuck it in the girdle from above, or occasionally pass its fore end between the legs, and tuck it in the girdle at the back. However, they very often take it off entirely, and wear nothing but a girdle with a piece of a banana leaf or some herbs tucked in it from beneath, either in front only, or both in front and at the back (fig. 28). Sometimes, they do without even this miniature garment, and go stark naked, in which case, however, they will cover themselves at the approach of strangers.

Bontok Igorot girls usually do not wear the tapis before they are seven or eight years old, and it is not extraordinary to see girls of eight, nine, and even ten years old go stark naked. However, they sometimes wear a small blanket, with the same results as explained above, where Kankanay girls were discussed. The blanket they wear generally passes under one of the arms of the Bontok Igorot girl, and both upper ends are knotted over the opposite shoulder.

Native upper garments are completely unknown. Sometimes, the Bontok Igorot women wear a blanket, similar to the Ibaloy *kolibaw*, and they wear it in the same way as do the Ibaloy women, but it is usually much shorter, and red stripes occasionally take the place of the dark-blue ones.

The Bontok Igorot women fold their hair upon their head, entwining it with a rather large string of beads, which is generally distinctly apparent only at or near the crown of the head. The tops of their tresses usually hang loose at one side, and a second string of beads, shorter than the first one, and purely ornamental in purpose, is worn around the head, in the same way as that used by the Ifugaw. These strings of beads are called *appóñg*, and pipes and other belongings are tucked in them.

Bontok Igorot women tattoo their arms in the same way as do the women of the Ibaloy and the Kankanay.

They generally wear ear pendants of the same shape and material as those worn by the men. They also sometimes wear a single necklace of beads hanging loose over their chest (fig. 27, woman at left).



FIG. 33. SOUTH KALINGA ADORNMENTS

FIG. 34. NORTH KALINGA MAN

FIG. 35. NORTH KALINGA COUPLE

FIG. 36. ISNEG MAN

In a few villages, Bontok Igorot women wear a belt around the waist, above the tapis. In some cases, this belt is made of rattan, in others it consists of copper wire and is ornamented with large pieces of white shell.

THE KALINGA

In a few districts the Kalinga weave their own clothes in the same way as do the Kankanay, the Ifugaw and the Bontok Igorot. Generally, however, they buy them from other people.

THE SOUTH KALINGA

Men

All South Kalinga men wear the G-string, called *báag* in their dialect (figs. 29-30). The part that encircles the body is worn high and tight, and both ends, in front and behind, hang loose. These ends are usually long and reach to or below the knees.

The G-string is generally made of red cloth. The most common G-string has a few yellow stripes running lengthwise, at equal distance from one another; but many imported varieties are met with. G-strings worn by the rich, or on special occasions, are often ornamented with yellow designs woven in more or less broad patches at both ends, and occasionally with fringes or tassels. Sometimes, round pieces of white shell are used to ornament them, and G-strings have been seen where the fore end was almost completely covered with them.

South Kalinga boys begin wearing the G-string at about the same age as do the Ibaloy.

Native upper garments are unknown, except the blanket, which is used occasionally, but rarely. It is worn in the same way as described under "Ibaloy Men."

These blankets generally reach the knees, and are usually woven with various designs of different colors. The general appearance of the most common blanket is blue, checkered or cross-barred with bands of various colors; but there is an enormous variety of other imported blankets.

The South Kalinga men cut their hair in the same way as do the Bontok Igorot (fig. 29), and carry the same kind of basket (the flat variety) at the back of the head, and for the same purposes.

They tattoo their arms, chest, upper part of the back, and face with all kinds of fantastic designs. The tattooing on their body very often imitates the lines and designs of the upper garment worn by the North

Kalinga, which will be described in due time. In front, however, the tattooing reaches almost to the waist, much lower consequently than at the back, and lower than the tattoo of the Bontok Igorot men.

The South Kalinga men use the C-shaped ear pendants of the Ifugaw and the Bontok Igorot (figs. 32-33). On special occasions, they wear, tight around the neck, a broad collar (*kulkúl*) made of several strings of small or comparatively small beads of different colors (figs. 29-30). Big copper bracelets, like those worn by the Ifugaw (fig. 5), armlets, and necklaces of trapezoidal pieces of shell, like those worn by some Ifugaw (fig. 7), are met with in some districts.

Sometimes they wear pieces of shell in the shape of topped clover leaves, like those worn by the women (figs. 30 and 32); but, instead of using them as ear pendants, they generally attach them to their ears in such a way as to have both leaflets situated the one above the other, all along the ear.

On special occasions fantastic ornamentation of the head may be seen. It generally consists of a large tuft of feathers, projecting upward at both sides of the head, and in a direction parallel with the bottom of the basket (fig. 29).

Women

The South Kalinga women wear the tapis, called *káin* in their dialect (figs. 30-31). The South Kalinga tapis is generally longer than the Kankanay one, but shorter than the Ibaloy tapis. It usually reaches somewhere below the knees; it is worn below the abdomen, like that of the Ifugaw, and, as is the case with the Bontok Igorot, one of the woman's thighs protrudes and is almost completely bared in front while she walks.

In many cases, however, especially in everyday use and at work, the tapis is shorter than usual, and in some districts toward the South, it barely reaches the knees.

The South Kalinga tapis is generally striped horizontally (lines usually straight, sometimes broken), and its colors are predominantly red and yellow, but a great variety exists. Here follows the description of a few of them:

Four stripes, two red and two yellow alternating, followed by one blue stripe (this is perhaps the most common variety);

Very broad red bands, in the middle of which runs a narrow yellow stripe, alternate with comparatively narrow blue stripes;

A yellow stripe, followed by a green one, another yellow stripe,

followed by a red one, a third yellow stripe, followed by a second red one, then a blue stripe followed by a white one, and so on;

Two broad red bands and one blue, each band being separated from the next one by a very narrow white stripe;

Two narrow stripes, one yellow, one red, alternating with one blue stripe; etc.

Very often a rather broad lining of different color or design terminates both meeting ends of the tapis.

On special occasions the South Kalinga women wear their long tapis ornamented with rows either of small oval pieces of shell or of the same intermingled with short strings of small beads, dangling all around and glistening in the sun (figs. 30-31). It is not rare to see them wear this beautiful long tapis over a second short soiled one.

In a few villages toward the north, they wear the North Kalinga women's saya, on special occasions or when going on a journey.

No supplementary girdle is used by the South Kalinga women, and no native upper garments are known by them.

South Kalinga girls begin wearing the tapis at about the same age as do the Ibaloy.

South Kalinga women are rarely seen with the blanket, and, if they wear it, they do so in the same way as do the Ibaloy women.

They either allow their hair to hang loose on the back, or, more commonly, tuck it in a string of beads (*apúñgot*), which they wear around the head, and in which they sometimes tuck as well their pipe and other belongings.

The South Kalinga women tattoo their arms with a great variety of designs, and the tattooing generally reaches their shoulders and covers the part of the body around the collar bone. Only the part of the upper arm next to the body usually remains bare (fig. 32). Occasionally a few dots are tattooed on the throat.

They generally wear ear pendants, either the same as those worn by the men or a few other kinds: strings of small beads, large pieces of copper wire of fantastic shapes and designs, large pieces of shell resembling a topped clover leaf with two leaflets, etc. (figs. 30, 32-33). With the heavier ear pendants goes a string of small beads, which is slung over the ear: it starts at the ear pendant, runs upward at the outside, and passes back of the ear until it reaches the ear pendant again. It serves as a supplementary support for the latter (fig. 32).

The more conspicuous ear pendants are worn only on special occasions, and so also one or more long necklaces of large beads hanging

loose over the breast and sometimes reaching the waist (figs. 30, 32-33). Occasionally one or more of these strings of beads may be slung either over the right shoulder, passing under the left arm, or over the left shoulder, passing under the right arm (figs. 32).

South Kalinga women sometimes wear the same kind of broad tight collar (*kulkúl*) of small or comparatively small beads, as those worn by the men (figs. 31-32).

A few of them wear on one or both arms, several bracelets of strings of beads, usually small, sometimes either small or large, closely grouped the one above the other. When both are used, the strings of small beads occupy the lower part of the arm, near the wrist, and the strings of large beads are situated above them (figs. 31 and 33).

South Kalinga women are very fond of painting their face red.

In a few villages toward the South, the women wear a large belt of woven rattan around the waist, under the tapis. This belt sometimes appears at one of the sides, but in general it is hidden completely by the tapis. In either case it affects conspicuously the position of the tapis around the body. The latter garment, instead of clinging closely to the body, as is the case with the women of most all of the other groups, seems to hang freely around, on account of the projecting rattan belt over which passes the upper part of the tapis. At the same time one of the woman's thighs is very often completely bared at the outer side.¹⁵

THE NORTH KALINGA

Men

What has been said about the G-string of the South Kalinga may be repeated here.

The North Kalinga men have a special multicolor (red predominating) upper garment, called *silúp*, which they have to put on over the head, as it has no opening either in front or at the back. It is sometimes ornamented with a row of very small buttons or with yellow tape, running from the throat downward. This garment reaches down to about half-way between the neck and the waist, and has long narrow sleeves that reach down to the wrist. The *silúp* is worn extensively, although not always (figs. 34-35).

The North Kalinga men wear the blanket very often in one of two

¹⁵ Some Mangian women, on the island of Mindoro, wear nothing but a broad belt of rattan strips, with a kind of G-string, similar to that worn by the Isneg women.

ways. The blanket passes under one of the arms, one of the upper ends at the back, the other one in front, and both ends meet above the opposite shoulder, where they are tied together by knotting them; in this way the side of the body corresponding to the knot is left bare, while the opposite side is covered with the blanket (figs. 34-35). The second way consists in simply knotting both upper ends, either at the nape of the

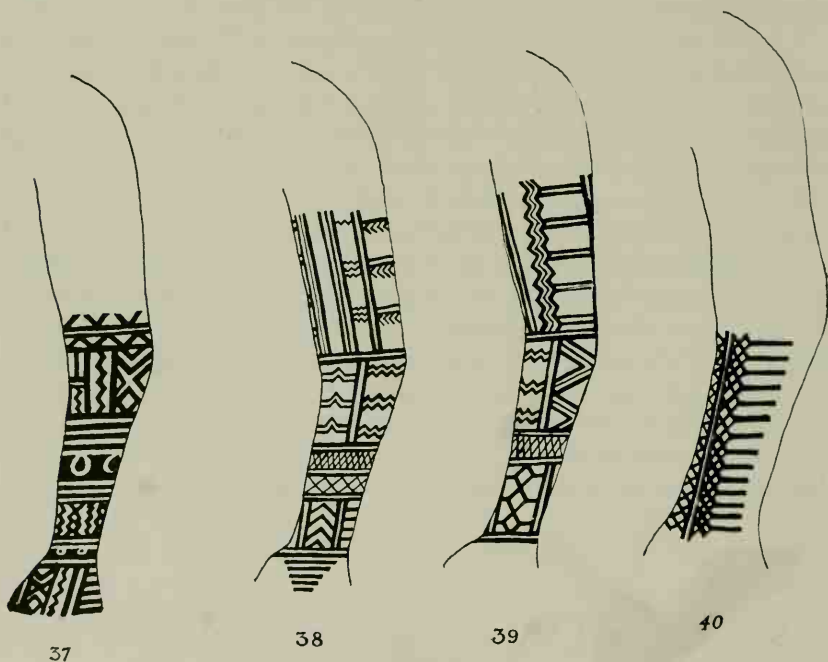


FIG. 37. TATTOOING ON IBALOY WOMAN'S ARM
 FIGS. 38-39. TATTOOING ON NORTH KALINGA WOMAN'S ARM
 FIG. 40. TATTOOING ON NORTH KALINGA MAN'S ARM

neck, letting the blanket hang in front, or at the throat, letting the blanket hang on the back.

These blankets generally reach the knees, and are woven with various colors and designs, red usually predominating.

The North Kalinga men cut their hair in the same way as do the South Kalinga and the Bontok Igorot, but they continue the cutting of the upper part all around the head,—and not only in front,—in such a way as to form a kind of bob, while only the hair below the bob is allowed to grow long. The latter is sometimes rolled up and tucked in somewhere at the occiput.

The North Kalinga men do not carry on their head the basket of the South Kalinga, but use instead a pouch generally of red cloth, hanging from the neck, and dangling either on the chest or on the back. It is similar to the *kélay* worn by a few Isneg young men, except that it is usually much larger (fig. 35).

On special occasions, they wear a headcloth in the shape of a turban, sometimes ornamented with the same tufts of feathers as those used by the South Kalinga (fig. 29).

They rarely use tattooing, and, if they do, only a part of the forearm, generally one side, is covered, and with almost the same designs as those that may be seen on the arms of the South Kalinga women (figs. 32 and 40).

The North Kalinga men wear large earrings consisting usually of disks of black horn, often with a differently colored center, and completely imbedded in the lobe of the ear.

They also wear the same kind of broad tight collar (*kulkúl*) of strings of small or comparatively small beads, as is worn by the South Kalinga; but they use it much more frequently than do the latter, and many of them wear it constantly (figs. 34-35).

Women

The North Kalinga women wear the *saya*. This is an ordinary woman's skirt, covering the body from the waist line down to the feet (fig. 35).

It is generally made of cloth of gaudy colors, red predominating, and, except on special occasions, is ordinarily tucked in at the waist in such a way as to bare the legs up to the knees and sometimes even higher. The *saya* is held up at the waist by a string or a strip of cloth.

In sitting and squatting postures, the North Kalinga women do not appear better clothed than the South Kalinga, as they press the *saya* between the legs, baring their thighs, in the same way as the South Kalinga do with their *tapis*.

Sometimes, on special occasions, the North Kalinga women wear a *tapis* over their *saya* (fig. 35). This *tapis* is identical with that of the South Kalinga in all respects,—length, ornamentation, etc.,—except that purple is the favorite color and that it is occasionally ornamented with silver coins or other small pieces of metal.

North Kalinga girls begin wearing the *saya* at about the same age at which the Ibaloy begin wearing the *tapis*.

The North Kalinga women have a special upper garment, called *silúp*,

of the same shape and material as that worn by the men, so that it barely covers the breasts, and leaves a broad belt of naked skin between its lower edge and the upper part of the saya. Its sleeves are generally wide and reach only to the elbow (fig. 35). This garment, however, is very often dispensed with in everyday dress.

On special occasions, they wear a kerchief around the neck, in such a way as to have it look like a triangle in front, with apex reaching about to the waist. This kerchief is generally ornamented with plenty of silver coins, pieces of metal, etc.

The North Kalinga women wear the same kind of blankets as those worn by the men, and in the same way, but not nearly so extensively. They also occasionally use the same kind of pouch hung from the neck; but very often they tuck it in the string or strip of cloth at their waist (fig. 35).

North Kalinga women allow their hair to grow long, and, when at home, sometimes either knot the end of their tresses at the back into a kind of chignon, or part their hair in the middle and knot both ends together over the top of the head. In general, however, they wear a narrow piece of cloth around the head, and intertwine their tresses with this headband (fig. 35). Sometimes a string of beads replaces the headband.

On special occasions, a series of strings of large beads is worn around the head, and forms a kind of multicolor crown. These strings are kept together at regular intervals by a small perforated strip of bamboo, which is strung on all the strings at the same height. A much ornamented headband is sometimes added to this crown of beads. Occasionally they tuck in their headband a small tuft of yellow feathers and small copper bells.

The North Kalinga women sometimes tattoo their forearms and a part of their upper arms, but the designs are not so close together as with the Ibaloy, the Kankanay and the Bontok Igorot, and very often, especially on the upper arm, only one half is tattooed, the rest being bare (figs. 38-39).

North Kalinga women use the same kinds of ear pendants and other ear ornaments as are worn by the South Kalinga women, except that in everyday usage they wear the same kinds of disks as those worn by the North Kalinga men (fig. 35).

North Kalinga women are rarely seen without one or two necklaces of beads hanging loose over their breast. But, on special occasions, they wear a kind of broad collar of strings of comparatively small beads

(*kulkúl*). It resembles the one worn by the men, but is generally less tight. Besides, a large number of necklaces of large beads cover their chest. On such occasions, these necklaces are worn in the same way as are those of the South Kalinga women, except that the same manner of keeping the strings together—in series of four, five or six—as noted for the headdress is often used with these necklaces.

North Kalinga women also wear on one or both arms, bracelets of strings of mostly small beads, closely grouped the one above the other, and sometimes covering the whole forearm (fig. 35).

North Kalinga women sometimes imitate their South Kalinga sisters by painting their faces red.

THE ISNEG

The Isneg do not weave their own clothes, but buy them from other people.

Men

All Isneg men wear the G-string, called *abág* in their dialect (figs. 36, 41, 43). The part that encircles the body is worn low, and it usually seems much broader than with the Ibaloy or the Kankanay, because it is wound several times around the body at different heights. The back end hangs loose, but is very short, while the fore end barely projects above the part that is worn around the body.

On special occasions, a prolongation, called *iput* (literally: tail), is attached to the back end; it generally consists of a thick tuft of long fringes.

The G-string is usually plain blue of one shade or another. Occasionally, but very rarely, it is made entirely or partly of the bark of a thymelaeaceous shrub, *Wikstroemia ovata*. Miq.

Isneg boys begin wearing the G-string at about the same age as do the Ibaloy.

The Isneg men have a special native upper garment, called *bádo*, of about the same shape and size as that worn by the North Kalinga, except that it is longer and generally reaches the waist (figs. 36, 41-44). It is usually grayish blue, but red and dark-blue, and occasionally black, purple and variegated jackets, sometimes with borders covered with designs of different colors, may be seen, especially on days of public rejoicing. Isneg men wear the jacket extensively, but they never wear blankets (*ulát*).

They wear their hair long, but bunch it upon the head, and keep it in

place with a cloth, generally blue of one shade or another, rarely on special occasions half red and half blue or entirely red. They put it on like a turban, at the same time allowing the top of their tresses to hang loose at one side, or tucking them in the headband. This turban is called *abuñgót* (figs. 36, 41-44).

Isneg men are very fond of adding one or more tresses of false hair, called *limpúnay*, to their own, so as to augment the volume of their headgear. This is done mostly on special occasions.

Sometimes one or more strings of beads (*saabán*), or narrow strips of colored cloth, mostly red or yellow tape (*sapáñg*; fig. 43), and occasionally a row of small white buttons (fig. 43), is wound around the turban. The *saabán* sometimes ends in a string to which are attached red tassels, etc., which dangle down the back. Sometimes again, on special occasions, fantastic ornamentation of the headcloth may be met with, e.g., tufts of feathers (*dúlaw*) and aromatic leaves (*bañgóg*), which they obtain from the ylang-ylang and other plants. A very few individuals wear the *saabán* without any *abuñgót* cloth.

To carry their belongings, they roll them up in a large piece of blue cloth (*túput*), either plain blue or blue with narrow red stripes crossing one another (sometimes light-blue stripes on dark-blue cloth). They then wind this cloth around their body at the waist, just above the G-string. They knot it in front, so as to keep at the back the bulk of what they carry along. Sometimes, although rarely, they carry this cloth on the back in such a way as to allow the ends to pass respectively over one shoulder and under the opposite arm, and to be knotted over the chest (fig. 54).

Isneg young men of marriageable age very often carry their articles for chewing betel nut in a pouch (*kélay*), a kind of rather large, generally multicolor handkerchief, hanging from the neck and dangling on the chest. Two ends are knotted immediately over the contents with a large double knot, the other two are joined at the top and reach the neck of the wearer. All along both sides, from the receptacle up to about half-way between the latter and the neck, a series of rings (*sañgkilát*) covers the cloth, while at the part that surrounds the neck, it is covered by four comparatively long narrow copper tubes. The girls take betel nut, etc., out of the pouch, and, if they accept the boy's advances, they add one of their own rings to those of the *kélay*.

The Isneg men tattoo their forearms from about half-way between the elbow and the wrist down to the wrist and the middle of the back of the hand. This tattooing, called *hísi*, is uniformly blackish without any



41



42



43



44

FIG. 41. ISNEG MEN
 FIG. 42. ISNEG MAN
 FIG. 43. ISNEG MAN AND WOMAN
 FIG. 44. ISNEG MAN AND WIFE

designs; but a narrow untattooed line runs through from the pulse of the wrist upward.

When they have killed one or more enemies, they are allowed to have a special design (figs. 45-46) tattooed on one or both arms at the inside. This design, called *andóri*, has its lower end at about the pulse of the wrist, and it sometimes runs all along the arm to near or on the shoulder, mostly in a slanting direction, so that it passes to the outer side of the arm somewhere above the elbow. The length of the *andóri* depends on the number of killed enemies. Sometimes it is tattooed on one or both arms of their daughters, instead of on their own. This custom is bound to disappear, as the Isneg have now abandoned headhunting.

A few men have the *babalákay* (figs. 47-48), described under "Women," tattooed on one or both thighs, in front. Sometimes a few dots or short, straight, parallel lines are tattooed on the back of each finger (fig. 50).

The Isneg men wear no ear pendants, but, on special occasions, they wear a large, very showy ornament, called *sipattál*, hung from the neck (figs. 43-44, 53). It consists of a collection of large and small pieces of shells and of large and small beads, usually worked into the shape of a triangular plate, but sometimes much smaller. It dangles either on the chest or on the back, and is attached to a rather broad collar, composed of several strings of very small beads of different colors.

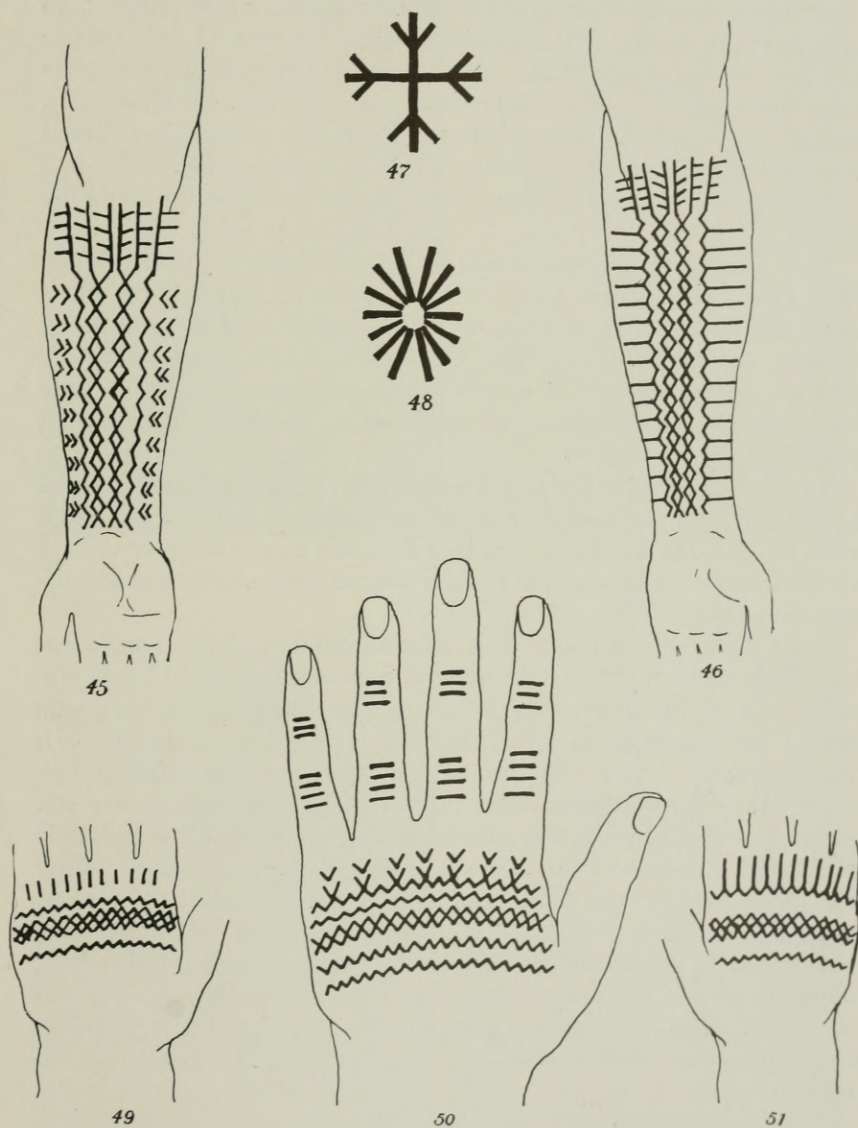
Sometimes, although rarely, instead of wearing their *saabán* beads around the turban, the Isneg men use them as a kind of necklace hanging loose on the chest (fig. 43).

When mourning a dead relative, neither men nor women are allowed to wear any ornament, not even on days of public rejoicing; they simply wear their ordinary everyday dress.

Women

All Isneg women wear the tapis, called *akén* in their dialect (figs. 43-44, 52-54). The Isneg tapis is generally at least as long as the typical tapis of the South Kalinga. It reaches somewhere below the knees and covers the body up to the waist. As is the case with the Ibaloy, the Kankanay and the Ifugaw, it is rather uncommon to see one of the woman's bare thighs protrude, while she walks.

The Isneg tapis is usually blue of one shade or another, often with horizontal, mostly narrow, stripes of some other color, mostly red or white, sometimes light-blue stripes in dark-blue cloth. A very common combination is the following: dark-blue cloth with alternate red and light-blue narrow stripes at equal distance from one another.



FIGS. 45-46. *Andóri* ON ISNEG WOMAN'S ARM

FIGS. 47-48. ISNEG *babalákay*

FIGS. 49-51. TATTOOING ON ISNEG WOMAN'S HAND

All Isneg women wear a supplementary girdle, called *bahákat*, to keep the tapis in place. This girdle consists of a strip of cloth similar to the G-string of men, and is tied, in front, generally with a single knot, allowing the ends to hang loose and long (figs. 43-44, 53, 55). Sometimes, especially when at work, it is wound a second time around the waist and tied at the back with a single or a double knot.

Isneg girls begin wearing the tapis at almost the same age as do the Ibaloy.

The Isneg women have a special native upper garment, called *badío*, but they never wear the blanket. The *badío* is identical with the men's upper garment in every respect, so that the woman's body is completely covered from neck to knees (figs. 43-44, 52-55). However, when they lift up one or both arms, a more or less large portion of their body above the waist is bared, as their girdle does not keep the jacket in place, but only the tapis.

They generally wear the jacket inside and outside the house, at least in the daytime. In case they go out without it, a more or less large piece of cloth will usually be arranged in such a way as to cover at least their breasts. In any case, only older women occasionally appear half-naked in public.

What has been said about the true and false hair of the Isneg men, their headcloth (figs. 43-44, 52-55), the occasional strings of beads (fig. 43) or row of buttons (fig. 53) that accompany the latter, the aromatic leaves, and the cloth in which they carry their belongings (fig. 54), may be repeated here. The woman's turban, however, is called *lad-dóñg*. Its color is usually either plain blue or blue with narrow red stripes crossing one another, sometimes light-blue stripes in dark-blue cloth, and it generally has a more or less broad white edge. Their *saabán* sometimes ends in a string to which are attached red tassels, copper bell-shaped ornaments, etc., that dangle on the back. The women use no *sapáñg* nor *dúlaw* feathers, but they are fond of tucking a small knife, of the shape of a headaxe, and called *ikó*, in their *lad-dóñg* (fig. 43. at the woman's right). Sometimes, and much more frequently than the men, they carry the cloth containing their belongings on their back (fig. 54).

The Isneg women have three kinds of tattooing: first, the *andóri*, mentioned under "Men," provided their father has killed one or more enemies; second, the *balalákay* or spider which consists of a cross-shaped or crown-shaped figure (figs. 47-48) tattooed on the throat and on one or both thighs in front, sometimes also on the forearm at the



FIG. 52. ISNEG WOMAN
 FIG. 53. ISNEG GIRL STANDING NEAR A YOUNG PALM TREE
 FIG. 54. ISNEG GIRL
 FIG. 55. ISNEG WOMAN

inside; third, the *tutuñgrát*, a series of broken lines, as shown in figs. 49-51, tattooed on the back of the hand. Very often a few dots or short, straight, parallel lines are tattooed on the back of each finger (fig. 50).

The Isneg women generally wear earrings. These vary from individual to individual. Some consist of several strings of small beads; others, of a very large ring, made of comparatively thin wire; and still others, of pieces of silver elaborately worked, and bought from outsiders.

The large and showy ornament or *sipattál*, worn by Isneg men, either on the back or on the chest, is also used by the women and in the same way (figs. 43 and 53). In addition, the women wear necklaces which consist of strings of beads (*búñgot*), hanging loose over their breast (figs. 43-44, 53). They sometimes wear one or more of them either slung over the right shoulder and passing over or under the left arm (fig. 53), or slung over the left shoulder and passing over or under the right arm.

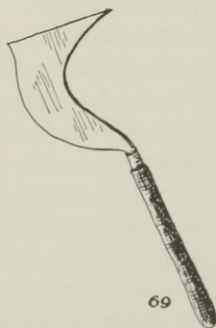
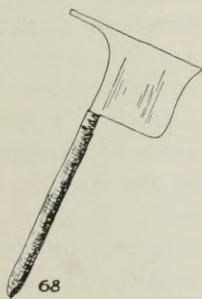
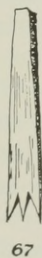
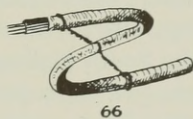
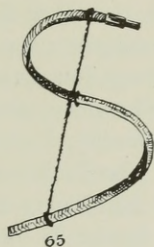
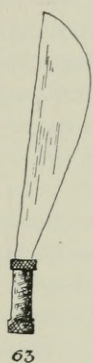
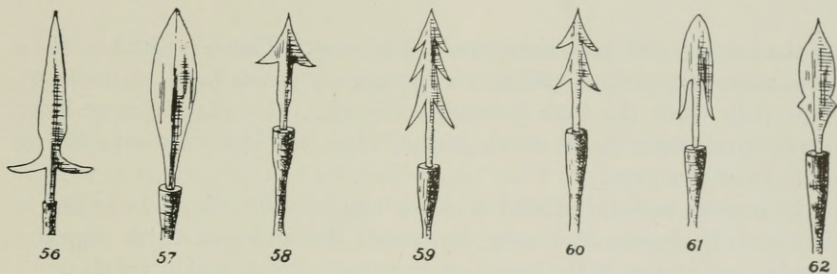
A few Isneg women wear bracelets, called *sinálí*, and made of strings of small beads, closely grouped the one above the other. These bracelets sometimes cover almost the whole forearm.

GENERAL DETAILS

Babies are carried in the same way by all, whether men or women, children or adults. They carry the baby either sitting astride on the hip, while they keep him from falling by pressing an arm to his back, or sitting astride on the back or on the hip, while a blanket or some other piece of cloth (Kn. *ábán*) keeps him from falling. This latter piece of cloth is usually rectangular in shape. One of its ends generally passes over one of the shoulders of the carrier, and the other end under the opposite arm, both ends being then knotted over the chest. Sometimes both ends pass under the arms (fig. 52).

Women of all groups, except those of the Ibaloy, carry their burdens on the head. They make use of a disk (Kn. *gíkan*) of cloth or grass placed on the head under the load, whenever the latter is comparatively heavy (fig. 52). The Ibaloy women carry their burdens on the back, usually in baskets, a band of woven rattan passing over the head at the front, to prevent the load from falling down and to help the carrier in sustaining its weight (fig. 3).

Men generally carry their loads on the shoulder. The Ibaloy, however, and a few Ifugaw, carry theirs like a knapsack, in a small contrivance (Kn. *tokiúd*), usually made of bamboo. The latter is kept in place on the back by means of two strings that pass over the shoulders



FIGS. 56-62. SPEARHEADS
 FIGS. 63-64. IFUGAW KNIVES
 FIGS. 65-66. ISNEG TATTOOING INSTRUMENT
 FIG. 67. IFUGAW TATTOOING INSTRUMENT
 FIGS. 68-69. ISNEG HATCHETS

of the carrier, and back again under his arms. There is often added a supplementary strip of rattan, which passes over the head, at the front, especially when the load is heavy. Besides, the Ifugaw very often carry their loads on the head, except when the loads are attached to both ends of a pole.

In general, water is carried in either long or short (fig. 52) sections of bamboo (Ib. *dawás*; If. *aluwóg*; Is. *kurúd*), the nodes of which are thoroughly perforated on the inside, so as to form a long hollow tube.

In places where bamboos are rare, large earthen jars take their place, as is the case with the Kankanay, the Bontok Igorot and the South Kalinga. These jars are rarely seen in the districts occupied by the other groups. Where jars are used, the work of carrying water almost exclusively falls to the women, and they mostly carry only one jar, except the South Kalinga and a very few Isneg, who may be seen carrying from two to six jars, generally three, at a time, the one above the other (fig. 52, 3 jars, 2 coconut shells).

Very few men go out without a knife. The Ibaloy use the ordinary bolo, called *a-ták* in their dialect. The Kankanay and the Ifugaw generally use a similar one (Kn. *baíg* or *baníg*; If. *ótak*), but with a broader blade (figs. 6 and 63). The latter becomes gradually narrower as it approaches the hilt, which forms one single piece with the blade, but is covered with woven rattan. This knife is very often stuck in a wooden sheath (Kn. *siká't*; If. *hikot*) that prevents it from injuring the carrier but leaves the knife bare at the outside, where one or more rings of rattan keep it in place. It is generally attached to the G-string with a rope or a strip of rattan (fig. 6).

Another kind of knife, used by the Ifugaw, consists of a kind of dagger (*hínáloñg*) with a triangular blade (fig. 64).

As the hilts of these knives are hollow (fig. 5), they are easily stuck on a stick and used as spears, especially the *hínáloñg*, the carrying of which is actually forbidden by the authorities.

The other tribes use the common headaxe, which consists of a kind of hatchet with a very broad blade and a comparatively thin long helve. The blade is attached to the helve by a tang or spike that fits into the head of the helve, which is surrounded by a comparatively long ring. The upper part of the blade is prolonged at the back into an obtuse point, and, except with the typical Isneg axe (fig. 68), at the edge into a sharp one. Both the upper and lower edges are generally straight or almost so, except in the typical Kalinga axe, of which the upper part is very markedly rounded (fig. 43). The back of the typical Isneg axe is sometimes deeply concave, instead of being almost straight (fig. 69).

The Isneg generally stick the headaxe in their G-string from beneath, at one side, with the helve uppermost (fig. 36), while the Bontok Igorot and the Kalinga usually carry it in their hands.

The Isneg women tuck a miniature headaxe (*ikó*), with a short straight or curved helve, in their headcloth, and use it to clean their fields.

Most all of the tribes forge their own knife blades and spearheads, except the Ibaloy and the Kankanay, who ordinarily buy them from outsiders.

Before the authorities prohibited the carrying of the spear (Kn. *bábág*; If. *páhul*; Kl. *say-āng*), the Ifugaw, the Bontok Igorot and the Kalinga were never seen without it, the Isneg had it with them very often, although not always, the Kankanay used it only on special occasions, e.g., at several kinds of sacrifices, etc., and the Ibaloy only on the occasion of the *teuñg-ás* or *bindián* sacrifice.

We shall describe more in detail the Ifugaw spears, all of which are used very generally throughout the Mountain Province, except among the Ibaloy, the Kankanay and the Isneg, who usually use only those with an even head without barbs (figs. 57, 29, 44), or, rarely, those with a head provided with only two almost parallel barbs, one at each side (figs. 61, 25, and 23, second man from left). The latter is really the typical Bontok Igorot spear.

The shaft is made of a kind of very hard wood and is thickest (the grip) at a short distance below the upper end. It tapers down gradually toward the base, where it fits in the socket of the butt (Kn. *sósug*), which is a simple round iron pin (fig. 35). The top of the foreshaft is provided with a comparatively short iron ring, and in the center with a hole to receive the tang of the head, which is a simple prolongation of the midrib of the blade.

These shafts are sometimes ornamented here and there with plaited strips of rattan or, especially at the grip, with small pieces of copper stuck in the wood, or with both.

The cutting edges of the blade are wedge-shaped, but, except in the *bághe* (If.), the barbs are usually thick and solid, of about the same diameter as the midrib and tang.

The spearheads are of forged iron, except the *túkab* or *hinúybuñg* (If.), which are generally made of bamboo. When they are made of iron they are called *iha* (If.). The *túkab* is mostly of use when the quarry or the victim is far away from the thrower. The Kankanay stick a bamboo spear in the roof of the house when a child is born; this spear is called *saibuñg* in their dialect.

The even spearhead without barbs (figs. 57, 29, 44) is called *lúddit* (If.). The other ones have all one or more barbs at each side: the *bághe* (If.; Kn. *ginamgáman*) (figs. 56, 6, 25, and 27) and the *balábog* (If.) (fig. 58) have only one; the *hináp-at* (If.) (fig. 60) has two, and the *hinólqat* (If.) (figs. 59, and 23, 1st and 3d men from left) three. The barbs of the *bághe* and of the *balábog* are at almost right angles with the rest of the spearhead, while those of the other two are in a slanting position, and point in an opposite direction from that of the terminal point of the blade. The blade of the *bághe* is elongated and its barbs form winglike appendages. The blade of the *balábog* together with its barbs has the shape of a triangle and is much smaller than the other blades.

The shield is rarely seen nowadays; among the Ibaloy, only during the *tcuñg-ás* sacrifice. It usually consists of a rectangular board, held in position somewhere at the center, usually by passing the hand (very often leaving out the thumb and little finger) through a loop, which is cut in the wood in such a way as to leave a vertical bar running lengthwise.

The shape of the shield varies more or less with each group of people, but, in general, the front surface is most prominent or bulging over the handgrip.

Both the upper and the lower parts of the shield of the Bontok Igorot are cut out, the upper part having three points projecting several inches beyond the body of the shield, and the lower part two. Across both ends of the shield a reinforcing strip of rattan passes through perforations from front to back. In the eastern section of the Bontok Subprovince, the lower part of the shield is a little narrower than the upper part, the cuts are deeper and sharper than with the shields in the western section, and all points are equal, while in the western section the middle point of the upper part is much smaller than the others.

Both the Ifugaw and the Kalinga shields are similar to that of the Bontok Igorot, but the Ifugaw shield is the least graceful, while the Kalinga shield is the most graceful of the three (fig. 29).

The Isneg shield has a single sharp point projecting from the middle of both the upper part and the lower part (fig. 44), one of the points being shorter than the other one.

To protect themselves from rain, a few male representatives of most all groups, except perhaps of the Ibaloy and of the Isneg, may be seen walking stark naked (if this may be called a protection). With the Bontok Igorot, however, this is almost general, and even the women

imitate the example of the men. The clothes they have taken off are placed over the head under the hat (men) or basket (women), which will be described presently, or, in default of the latter, are wrapped up in grass or leaves. Ifugaw men, who strip themselves, generally place the G-string under the armpit. However, they usually cover themselves, no matter what group they belong to, by means of their hands, when they are met by other people, or when others are apt to observe them, e.g., when they have to pass a house, where the inmates are at home, especially if the latter belong to the other sex.

The most common protection is afforded them by a kind of raincoat (Ib. *kalapdiáw*; Kn. *abíañg*; B.I. & Is. *anañgá*) made of palm leaves, whose bases surround the neck of the wearer and whose tops spread like a fan all around the body, except in front, at the height of the waist line (fig. 41). Instead of a raincoat of palm leaves, one made of grass and generally longer and less rigid, has been seen occasionally in the Ibaloy and in the Ifugaw country.

Again, most all of the groups occasionally use a kind of round hat (Ib. *takóko*; Kn. *kay-óduñg*; If. *tádduñg*; B. I. *sagfi*; Is. *killohóñg*) made either of palm leaves or of strips of rattan or bamboo, sometimes cut out of a bottle gourd, and usually rather wide, a small disk (Kn. *língká*) being attached inside at the center, so as to fit the head. Some of these hats are rounded at the top, while others terminate in the comparatively sharp tip in the center, which projects upward (fig. 41).

Kalinga and Isneg men and women use almost exclusively the raincoat and the pointed hat, as described above, and they wear them very frequently. The women of the Ibaloy, the Kankanay, the Ifugaw and the Bontok Igorot, instead of the raincoat and hat, generally make use of a kind of long basket (Ib. *tehúñg*; Kn. *talulúñg* or *tugáwi*; B.I. *togwi*), about one foot wide and three feet long, boat-shaped at one side and flat at the other. They carry the boat-shaped part over their head, and the rest of the basket protects their back down to the waist line or even lower. The same basket is used by a few Ifugaw men. A good many of the latter make extensive use of the hair basket, in which they also carry their provisions for the journey.

A simple banana leaf very often takes the place of the above, or is added as a supplementary protection. This leaf is carried over the head and held in place with one hand. Instead of a banana leaf, the Ifugaw sometimes use a piece of bark.

All Isneg girls and women wear a string or vine around the waist, under the tapis (Kn. *gawídan*; Is. *kalañgkáñg*), and most of them wear

Synopsis: Dress and Adornment of Men

	IBALOY	KANKANAY	IFUGAW	BONTOK IGOROT	S. KALINGA	N. KALINGA	ISNEO
G-string worn	low loose short white	low loose long dark blue	high tight long dark blue (almost black)	high or low ¹ tight or loose long red	high tight long red and yellow	high tight long red and yellow	low practically nil blue
ends color							
worn from age of—on	5-6	7	5-6	7-8	5-6	5-6	5-6
Jacket length put on sleeves length fit color	none	none	none	none	none	occasional short over head	usual long over head
Blanket size color	yes large white—dark blue	yes large white—dark blue	occasional small dark blue—white	rare	rare large blue, etc.	yes large different colors, red predominant	long narrow blue usually none
Coiffure	short	short except top	special bob	long at back	long at back	long at back	long, bunched on head
Headgear	headcloth (occasional)	headcloth (often)	turban-like headcloth (occasional)	basket	basket	turban-like headcloth (occasional)	large blue turban-like headcloth, with beads, etc
Belongings carried in	headcloth or G-string	headcloth or G-string	pouch tucked in G-string	basket on head	basket on head	pouch hanging from neck	blue cloth around waist (occasionally in pouch hanging from neck)
Tattoo where	rare	rare	elaborate everywhere except back and feet	elaborate upper arm chest face	elaborate upper arm chest face (upper) back (upper)	rare forearm	yes forearm back of hand
Adornments ear	rare none	rare	earrings or pendants necklaces	pendants	pendants	disk earrings tight collar	none
neck					tight collar-necklaces		showy neck adornment
arm			occasional bear tusk armlets	occasional bear tusk armlets	occasional armlets		
wrist		occasional copper bracelets	occasional copper bracelets	occasional copper bracelets	occasional copper bracelets		
waist			ginutu belt	copper chain, large round shell			
leg	occasional copper rings, etc.		common copper leglet				

¹ Occasionally simple piece of cloth worn instead of G-string.

	IBALOY	KANKANAY	ITUGAW	BONTOK IGOROT	S. KALINGA	N. KALINGA	ISENEG
Weaving Tapis—saya length put on worn length thighs covered color	none tapis longest ² high covered various	yes tapis medium high covered white—dark blue	yes tapis medium low covered blue—white	yes tapis ¹ shortest high one uncovered white	rare tapis long low one uncovered red and yellow	rare, if any saya (occasional tapis) various—red pre- dominating	none tapis long high covered blue
worn from age of—on	5	7	5-6	7-8	5	5	5
Girdle worn	none originally	occasional fringe end at side	yes tucked in at back	yes fringe end at back	none		yes knotted at front
Jacket length put on sleeves length fit color	usual ³ rather long opens down front short wide various	very common rather long opens down front short narrow white	rare medium over head none white	none	none	occasional short over head short wide multicolor—red predominating	usual long over head long narrow blue usually
Blanket size color	yes large white—dark blue	yes large white—dark blue	occasional small dark blue—white	occasional small white	rare	common large various	none
Coiffure style	long loose	long or to shoul- ders loose	long loose or folded on head	long tucked in beads on head	long	long	long bunched on head
Headgear color	turban-like head- cloth white	one string of beads	one or more strings of beads	two strings of beads	one string of beads	head band or beads	large turban-like headcloth, with beads blue
Belongings car- ried in			pouch in tapis		beads on head oc- casionally	pouch hung from neck or tucked in saya at waist	blue cloth around waist or on back
Tattoo where	yes part upper arm whole forearm back of hand	yes part upper arm whole forearm back of hand	yes whole arm shoulders	yes part upper arm whole forearm back of hand	yes whole arm shoulders	occasional part upper arm whole forearm	yes throat thighs hands, fingers
Adornments ear	occasional bead- nets ⁴ of copper rings	ordinary earrings	pendants	pendants	pendants	disk earrings	earrings
neck	necklaces of beans or pith	occasional collar	necklaces	long bead neck- laces	tight collar-neck- laces	tight collar-neck- laces	showy ornament, necklaces
wrist	occasional copper bracelets	occasional brace- lets	copper bracelets	occasional rattan or copper belt	bead bracelets	bead bracelets	occasional head bracelets
waist					occasional rattan belt		

¹ Bontok Igorot women occasionally wear banana leaves or tuft of leaves instead of tapis.² One tip of Ibaloy tapis projects below.³ Ibaloy women wear additional cloth at back.⁴ Ibaloy women occasionally wear gold plate under upper lip.

one on each leg (Is. *passát*) in the form of an anklet (fig. 43). The Isneg men wear the latter occasionally on one leg. The string or vine around the waist is also worn occasionally by a few representatives of other groups (Kankanay men and women, Bontok Igorot children and old men, Kalinga old women), while the anklets are also used by a few Kankanay children and Bontok Igorot men, but only on one leg. In the case of the Kankanay, these anklets very often consist of one half of a hog's tail cut lengthwise into two parts (*bō'yat*). Some superstition is probably connected with both practices, but the string around the waist has also a practical use in some cases.

All Isneg girls, as soon as they reach a certain age, say about ten years, wear a kind of G-string, usually made of a piece of bark, and attached to the afore-mentioned waist-string, in front and at the back. They call it *talút*. The same kind of G-string, made either of bark or of cloth, is worn, if not by all, at least by some girls and women of those South Kalinga who wear the rattan belt described under "South Kalinga Women."¹⁶ Old Kalinga women very often wear a piece of bark in the same way. Many Kankanay women wear a similar strip of cloth (*gibay*) for about a week after childbirth.

The women of the Ibaloy, the Ifugaw, the bulk of the Kalinga, and probably the Bontok Igorot, go without this.

CONCLUSION

The various so-called non-Christian tribes of the Mountain Province of Luzon, while differing one from the other in numerous details, are *actually essentially one*. Whether they were originally one or have become so in the course of time is another question.

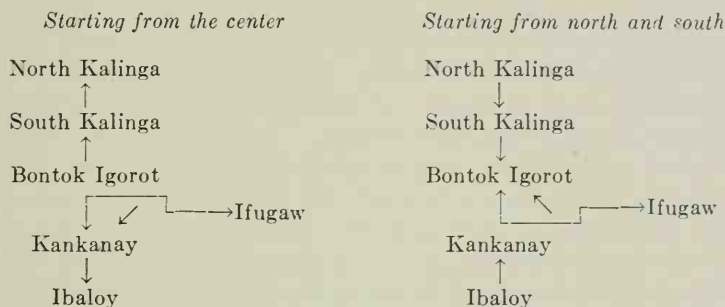
In the present paper we have confined our attention to dress and adornment, and for the present we shall draw our inference of unity from this field alone. We could however as easily follow the same line of inference and reach the same conclusion by reviewing and discussing their dialects, their sacrifices, and so forth. All this evidence combined constitutes almost overwhelming proof for the unity of these peoples.

It is true that, if we compare, e.g., an Ibaloy woman with a South Kalinga woman, the fundamental identity or similarity of dress appears far from obvious. It is otherwise however if we proceed step by step

¹⁶ As has been stated (note 15) in the section describing the dress of the South Kalinga women, some Mangian women on the island of Mindoro, wear nothing but this same kind of G-string, attached on both sides to a broad belt of strips of rattan.

from one group to the neighboring one. We may either start from the centrally located Bontok Igorot and proceed north and south, or else start from the extreme north and south and proceed toward the center.

The relationships or similarities in the respective cases may then be represented schematically as follows:



We have purposely left out the Isneg, because they seem to be connected immediately with the Tingian¹⁷ of the Province of Abra, not discussed in the present paper, who are in turn connected with the South Kalinga to the east and with the Kankanay to the south. On the one hand, the Isneg differ in general appearance from the North Kalinga, and connecting links between the two are lacking. On the other hand, the Isneg and Tingian appear clothed in much the same manner, at least in general, and there are connecting links or transitional forms. Furthermore, at present at least, the North Kalinga are gradually invading the Isneg country. For example, many North Kalinga who inhabit the southern villages of the municipal district of Ripaňg are immigrants from Buaya and vicinity. If the present migrational drift is indicative of what has happened in the past, it would seem that the Isneg and North Kalinga are converging rather than branching out from a common stock.

¹⁷ The Tingian men wear the G-string in almost the same way as the Isneg do. It is generally white, with, at both ends, a series of horizontal bands of alternately red and blue designs. They wear their hair long and tucked up in a headband of cloth or bark, and practise very little or no tattooing. The women wear the tapis high, mostly without girdle. They wear their hair long and tucked up in a string of beads. They cover their entire forearms, and on special occasions also their upper arms, with strings of beads close to one another. They are rarely seen without at least one string of beads hanging from the neck and dangling on the chest. A necklace consisting of a string of pieces of gold is often worn more or less tight around the neck. They often tattoo their forearms and part of their upper arms above the elbow, with designs more or less similar to those of the Kankanay or the South Kalinga, but generally much more sparingly, so as to leave much of the skin to be seen.

Let us return to our main inference regarding the essential tribal unity of the peoples of the Mountain Province. The evidence supporting the two preceding schematic representations has been given throughout the present paper and is offered in synoptic form in the two tables appended above (pp. 238-239). Attention may be called, for instance, to the data on the G-string and man's jacket, the woman's lower and upper garments, male and female coiffure, headgear and tattooing, men's manner of carrying belongings, and so forth. We pretty consistently get the same gradation from or toward the center, the Bontok Igorot, with, at the same time, an underlying similarity. In which direction however diffusion has predominantly occurred in the past, whether from the central to the peripheral regions or vice versa, cannot well be determined. Whether the evolution of dress in the Mountain Province has been from a state of near-nudity, as among the Bontok Igorot, to almost complete covering of the body, as among the Ibaloy and North Kalinga, or whether the process has been the reverse, does not appear clear.

The peoples of the Mountain Province are, as compared, for instance, with some of the scattered marginal nomad hunting peoples of the world, relatively advanced and relatively removed from primitive or primeval conditions. So far however as the Mountain Province evidence goes, it appears to agree more with the theory that derives dress from the sense of shame, than with the theory that derives dress from the desire for bodily adornment. The dirty rag that is sometimes the sole article of dress among these wild mountaineers is hardly chosen for its ornamental qualities. Moreover, in sitting postures, the natives have the breechclout almost entirely out of view. It would seem strange, too, that this particular part of the body should have been chosen for adornment, when they have so many other resources in the way of more conspicuous bodily ornamentation.

We have seen men wearing a beautiful, large, thick copper chain around their waists, with a piece of cloth dangling from it, the original material, color and shape of which could only be guessed at. The ornamentation would have been much more successful, had the cloth been entirely absent. Nevertheless, the real purpose of the chain was to keep the cloth in place. The latter was obviously the more important of the two, as the great majority of the men dispense with the chain, but never with the cloth.

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